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ZUM ÜBERSETZEN MITTELHOCHDEUTSCHER LYRIK: EIN LIED VON HOHER MINNE

HENRY W. NORDMEYER
University of Michigan

Mitteilung folgender Übersetzung von *Minnesangs Frühling* 176, 5¹ versucht vorwiegend dem Unterricht zu dienen: nämlich dem Zweck, vorgerückteren Studenten, denen nahe Vertrautheit mit dem mittelhochdeutschen Urtext nicht beschert ist, in neuhochdeutschem Sprachgewand eine andeutende Vorstellung zu vermitteln von Gestalt und Gehalt eines charakteristischen Liedes von hoher Minne, nicht durch zergliedernde Erörterungen, sondern soweit möglich durch die unmittelbare Wirkung dichterischer Form und Ausdrucksweise. Das Werk Reinmars von Hagenau, in dem der vorwaltersche Minnesang seine Vollendung erreichte, scheint dazu am ehesten geeignet.²

Gerade das Übersetzen aus mittelhochdeutscher Dichtung in die moderne Sprache birgt bekanntlich mancherlei Gefahren, wie sie seinerzeit Franz Saran hübsch gezeichnet hat,³ nur daß dessen eigene umschreibende Prosa-Auflösungen ihrer Bestimmung nach kaum noch „Übersetzungen“ zu nennen sind. Und dies dürfte auch von der Gestalt gelten, in der etwa Carl von Kraus, einer unsrer besten Kenner, viele Reinmarsche Gedichte wiedergegeben hat, wobei er ja rein philologische Zwecke verfolgte.⁴ Wer mehr als eine verstandesmäßige Vorstellung haben will von Anmut und Ethos höfischer Lyrik, darf schlechterdings auf die Form nicht verzichten: die Form, die das gänzlich durchgebildete Wesen dieser Dichtung mit einer Vollkommenheit spiegelt, wie sie bei vergleichbaren Gehalten im deutschen Schrifttum selten erreicht worden.

Gewiß haben wir manches Anerkennenswerte, das dieser Forderung Rechnung trägt, wie etwa Hans Naumanns Erneuerung einiger Reinmarscher Strophen, die viele von uns um Weihnachten 1928 von ihm in

¹ Friedrich Vogt (ed.), *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 3. Ausgabe, 1920. (In neueren Ausgaben unverändert.)

² Eine ausführliche Form- und Stilanalyse des Gedichts sowie eine Feststellung und Beleuchtung seiner literarischen Zugehörigkeit und Stellung hat der Verf. vorgelegt in *Corona: Studies in Philology* [in honor of] *Samuel Singer*, ed. by A. Schirokauer and W. Paulsen, Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1941, S. 158-182.

³ Franz Saran, *Das Übersetzen aus dem Mittelhochdeutschen*, Halle a. S.: M. Niemeyer, 1930, S. 3 ff.

⁴ Carl von Kraus, *Die Lieder Reinmars des Alten*, München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, Teil I, II und III (bes. Teil I).

der Aula der Universität Toronto vortragen hörten.⁵ Aber zumal wenn man größere Sammlungen zur Hand nimmt, fühlt man sich oft enttäuscht, denn es trifft leider nicht zu, daß in der Menge die einzelnen Unzulänglichkeiten zurücktreten oder gar verschwinden – im Gegenteil, erst wenn man sie in langer Reihe aufmarschieren sieht, wird man sich bewußt, wie schwer sich auf diesem Wege ein inneres, kritisch nur einigermaßen verwertbares Verständnis einer andern Kulturwelt gewinnen läßt. Die Formschwierigkeiten sind zu groß und ihrer sind zu viele, um sich bewältigen zu lassen, wenn man an die Aufgabe mehr oder minder nur sprachlich geschult und eingestellt herantritt, sich im übrigen aber den bloß metrischen Gegebenheiten überläßt. Auch der Übersetzer muß sein Gedicht, nachdem sich ihm der Wortsinn erschlossen, erleben nach Art und Klang und Tiefe, bis selbst die äußere Form ihm so gut wie selbstverständlich wird: erst dann kann er sie nachschaffend meistern.

Zur äußeren Form gehört bei dieser Kunst aber nicht nur Reim und Strophengebäude, sondern auch Strophenordnung und Strophenverknüpfung, sowie in weiterm Sinne Reimreinheit und Sprachreinheit, Wortwahl und Wortgebrauch. Dies alles ist nach Möglichkeit wiederzugeben. Wo aber Opfer zu bringen sind, da sich zwei Sprachen nun mal nicht völlig gleichschalten lassen, ist wenigstens die innere Form vor Schaden zu behüten, d. h. die beseelte Durchgliederung der Vorstellungs- und Gefühlszusammenhänge, die sich in der äußeren Form spiegelt. Und schließlich (wenn es dem Übersetzer erlebnismäßig auch zuerst kommen dürfte) sollte der heutige Hörer vielleicht noch ein fernes Echo der rhythmisch-melodischen Werte erwarten dürfen, die das Ganze tragen, so schwer sich für uns deren letzte Feinheiten auch ermitteln lassen. Als Carl von Kraus Morungen übertrug,⁶ bewahrte er allerdings die Zeile nach Maß, Länge und Zahl, verzichtete aber auf die Magie des Reims. Es sei dahingestellt, ob damit dem Willen zur Formung, der wesentlich ist für die höfische Lebenshaltung überhaupt, Genüge getan, ob also durch Aufgebung dieses mehr als äußeren Schmucks nicht auch die innere Form, die Beseelung des Ganzen erhebliche Einbuße erlitten. Vielleicht war der Übersetzer gewarnt vom Beispiel Friedrich Wolters', der gerade bei Reinmar die „Bewußtheit einer strengen Kunst“, also wohl eine gewisse Seelenverwandtschaft vollauf begriffen hatte und nun seinerseits, unter dem „Hauche“ Stefan Georges, die Forderung der schönen Form edel zu erfüllen strebte.⁷ Bei Wolters heißt z. B. die erste Strophe von MF 176, 5 wie folgt:

Allen glücks ein seliges weib
Tu mir so,

⁵ MF 163, 14.5; 162, 34, seitdem zugänglich in Hans Naumann und Günther Müller, *Höfische Kultur*, Halle a. S.: M. Niemeyer, 1929, S. 38 f.

⁶ Carl von Kraus (ed.), *Heinrich von Morungen* (Text, Übertragungen, Anmerkungen), München: Bremer Presse, 1925.

⁷ Friedrich Wolters (tr.), *Minnelieder und Sprüche: Übertragungen aus den deutschen Minnesingern des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Otto v. Holtzen, 1909 (Vorrede).

Daß mein herz erhoben steh,
Wenn ich je durch deinen leib
Wurde froh,
Daß das nie an mir zergeh.
War ich stets der dienst für dich,
Sei die freude du für mich.
Soll ich jemals lieben tag
Oder nacht ersehnen,
Das muß, frau, an dir geschehn.⁸

Was hätte Saran wohl gesagt . . . Schon hier ist ersichtlich, daß der Übersetzende sich genötigt sah, den Beschränkungen des Verses, so auch dem Reim, sehr bedenkliche Zugeständnisse zu machen. Was der erste Vers heißen soll, ist kaum festzustellen, und „Leib“ in Vers 4 vermittelt dem modernen Leser eine ganz abwegige Auffassung. So möchte man fast zu v. Kraus zurückkehren, wo doch mindestens eine Brücke geschlagen ist zum Verständnis des mittelhochdeutschen Texts, den man dann als solchen studieren und genießen muß. Und vielleicht ist das wirklich der Weisheit letzter Schluß in all diesen Fragen.

Gleichwohl bleibt das pädagogische Problem, von dem wir eingangs sprachen. Und so sei noch ein Versuch gestattet ihm beizukommen, scheint doch dies Lied in seiner gedrängten Fülle wie wenige imstande, in den Nachfahren eine Ahnung aufsteigen zu lassen von Kunstgesinnung und Kunstwollen der höfischen Dichter um 1200. Die Fiktion des Lehnsverhältnisses zwischen Herrin und dienendem Sänger liegt darin vor (in verschiedenen Fachausdrücken direkt zu belegen), der gradualistisch zu fassende religiöse Grundgedanke (Marienverehrung) des Frauenkultus, die allbeherrschende Polarität zwischen Anbetung und Liebeverlangen, die Feier der erzieherischen Macht unerhörter Minne zur *fröide* des Hofes, anderseits die verhaltene Innigkeit einer an sich schlichten Sprache, der es ein Leichtes ist, vom Ernst zur Schelmerei und von dieser wieder zum Ernst überzugehen, die psychologische Feinheit in der Verwendung und Verknüpfung an sich geläufiger Motive, der überaus kunstreiche Satz- und Strophenbau, dem eine ganz ausgesucht musikalische Form entsprochen haben muß, usw. usf. — doch all dies durchaus integriert und somit potenziert. Reinmar selber hat, wie ich anderwärts nachzuweisen unternehmen habe,⁹ dieses Lied als sein bestes bezeichnet, das niemand hätte frei erfinden können, und ich stehe nicht an, es in seiner hochhöfischen Ausgeprägtheit Walthers ganz anders geartetem „Under der linden“ gegenüberzustellen, wenn man etwa die Spannweite damaliger deutscher Lyrik beleuchten wollte. Daß es bei alledem noch einige nicht wegzuleugnende Hiebe auf Walther enthält, Reinmars zeitweiligem Gegner am Wiener Hofe, darauf kommt es hier zum Glück nicht an — dem kritisch unbewaffneten Auge zeigt sich nichts davon. Wohl aber erkennen wir

⁸ AaO., S. 75. Eine andre Übersetzung von MF 176, 5 ist mir nicht bekannt geworden.

⁹ Corona, S. 177 f.

in diesem Umstand eine Kunstübung, die den Abstand des mittelalterlichen Dichters von seinem Gegenstand drastisch veranschaulicht, mithin erotischer „Realinterpretation“ gründlich vorbeugt, und das scheint immer noch am Platze.

Was die Übersetzung, die ich gewagt habe, selber anlangt, so kann sie nur zeigen, was mir ungefähr vorgeschwebt hat. Auch ihre Mängel liegen auf der Hand. Zur bequemen Nachprüfung sei der Urtext beige-fügt, dessen letzte kritische Herstellung, was den Wortlaut betrifft, wir Carl von Kraus und Max Jellinek verdanken, während die entscheidende Neuordnung der Strophen zuerst von Samuel Singer vorgeschlagen wurde.

REINMAR VON HAGENAU

(*Minnesangs Frühling* 176, 5)

Aller sælde ein sælic wîp,
tuo mir sô
daz mîn herze hôhe stê;
obe ich ie dur dînen lîp
wurde frô,
daz des iht an mir zergê.
ich was ie der dienst dîn:
sô bistuz diu frouwe mîn.
sol ich iemer lieben tac
oder naht gesehen,
daz lâ, frouwe, an dir geschehen.

Ich verdiente den kumber nie
den ich hân,
wan sô vil, ob daz geschach
daz ich underwîlent gie
für dich stân
unde ich dich vil gerne sach:
liez ich dô daz ouge mîn
tougenlichen an daz dîn,
daz brâht ich unsanfte dan
unde lîhte dar.
frouwe, nam des iemen war?

Frouwe, ich hân niht mê getân,
dunket mich,
dan diu liebe mir gebôt:
ich enkunde ez nie verlân,
hôrte ich dich
nennen, ine wurde rô.
swer dô nâhe bî mir stuont,
sô die merkære tuont,
der sach herzeliebe wol
an der varwe mîn.
sol ich dâ von schuldic sîn?

Weib, oh hochgebenedeit,
wende's so,
daß ich freudig kann bestehn!
Wenn mich deine Lieblichkeit
jemals froh
machte, laß das nicht vergehn.
All mein Dienst galt stets nur dir —
so sei du die Herrin mir!
Soll ich je noch schönen Tag
oder Nacht noch sehn,
das laß mir durch dich geschehn.

Nie verdiente ich das Leid,
das mich bannt,
als darum, wenn es geschah
und ich die Gelegenheit
günstig fand,
daß ich dich so gerne sah.
Ließ ich da der Augen Flehn
heimlich schweifend zu dir gehn,
die bracht' ich gar schwer zurück
und so leicht dahin.
Ob ich wohl verraten bin?

Sieh, ich habe nichts getan,
dünket mich,
als was mir das Herz gebot.
Mich bezwang der süße Wahn —
wenn ich dich
nennen hörte, wurd' ich rot.
Wer da nahe bei mir stand,
wie die Lauscher hier im Land,
der sah meine Liebe wohl
an der Wangen Schein:
Soll ich darum schuldig sein?

Frouwe, ich hân durch dich erliten
 daz nie man
 durch sîn liep sô vil erleit.
 ich getar dich niht gebiten
 noch enkan.
 tuoz durch dîne sælekeit.
 ich bin dîn: du solt mich nern
 und gewaltes allen wern.
 ich hân iemer eine bete,
 daz du wol gevarst
 und dich baz an mir bewarst.

Sieh, ich hab um dich erlitten,
 was noch nie
 jemand um die Liebste trug.
 Werbend wag ich nicht zu bitten.
 Herrin, sieh —
 bin ich denn nicht arm genug?
 Ich bin dein: du schütze mich
 gegen Unbill gnädiglich!
 Stets hab ich nur ein Gebet:
 Daß du glücklich seist —
 und dich huldvoll mir erweist.



Wilhelm Raabe Nachlass

Am 15. November 1940, dem dreißigsten Todestage Wilhelm Raabes, übernahm die Stadt Braunschweig den gesamten Nachlaß dieses Dichters in ihre Obhut. Aus diesem Anlaß fand auf dem Braunschweiger Rathaus die feierliche Unterzeichnung eines Vertrages zwischen den Vertretern der Stadt und den Töchtern des Dichters, Fräulein Margarete Raabe und Frau Klara Behrens-Raabe statt. Oberbürgermeister Dr. Hesse dankte insbesondere Fräulein Margarete Raabe für ihre langjährige Mühe und Fürsorge in der Betreuung des Erbes ihres Vaters. Im Anschluß an diese Feier erfolgte eine feierliche Kranzniederlegung am Denkmal und am Grabe Wilhelm Raabes.

Zu den Erinnerungstücken des Nachlasses gehört auch die gesamte Einrichtung der vier Haupträume des Raabeschen Hauses in der Leenhardstrasse 40, wo auch die Bibliothek des Dichters, seine Zeichnungen, Briefe und Handschriften sowie auch das Raabe-Archiv untergebracht worden sind. Der gesamte Nachlaß bleibt auch fernerhin unter der Verwaltung und Betreuung von Fräulein Margarete Raabe.

In der Ankündigung obigen Vertrages heißt es: „Die Stadt Braunschweig wird nun ihre vornehmste Aufgabe darin sehen, den Nachlaß Raabes zu erhalten und ihn, fern aller musealen Verstaubtheit, der weitesten Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen und damit das Andenken an diesen großen deutschen Dichter immer mehr zu befestigen und sein Lebenswerk jedem Deutschen nahezubringen.“

State Teachers College
 La Crosse, Wisconsin

—G. Waldo Dunnington

ZUR TEXTKRITIK VON HAUPTMANNS „FLORIAN GEYER“

HERMANN J. WEIGAND

Yale University

Bekanntlich stellt Gerhart Hauptmanns Bauernkriegdrama außerordentliche Anforderungen an den Leser, der sich ernstlich um den Sinn dieses großen Versuches bemüht. Dies liegt zum Teil an der fast unüberblickbaren Zahl der im Drama auftretenden Einzelpersonen, noch mehr aber an der sehr fremd anmutenden Sprache, die in Hinsicht auf Wortschatz, Formen, Satzbau und bildhafte Wendungen das Mainfränkische des 16. Jahrhunderts aufs Genaueste nachzubilden versucht. Solch ein Werk stellt aber auch an den Setzer und Korrektor ganz besondere Aufgaben, und da ist es durchaus nicht verwunderlich, daß sich eine Reihe von Versehen in den Text eingeschlichen haben, die dem vollen Verständnis des Werkes störend im Wege stehen. Wie aber ist es möglich, daß noch heute, nahezu ein halbes Jahrhundert nach dem Erscheinen des *Florian Geyer*, dieselben Fehler in den neuesten Ausgaben stehen? Wie ist es möglich, wird man mir entgegnen, daß in einem Versdrama wie der *Versunkenen Glocke*, wo die Verhältnisse ganz anders liegen, eine Reihe sinnloser Textentstellungen dies volkstümlichste aller Hauptmannschen Dramen von Ausgabe zu Ausgabe begleiten?

Daß es sich bei dem ersten der hier zu besprechenden Fälle um einen Kernpunkt der dramatischen Motivierung handelt, daß von den übrigen drei jeder einen besonderen Typus darstellt und ein besonderes Problem aufgibt, wird aus unseren Ausführungen deutlich hervorgehen.

(1) In dem letzten Akt der Tragödie schleppt sich der bis auf den Tod erschöpfte Held, von der treuen Marei geführt, bei Nacht in das Schloß seines Schwagers Wilhelm von Grumbach.¹ Zu spät erfährt er, das Schloß ist von bündischen Rittern besetzt; der durch seinen Anteil an der Bauernbewegung arg kompromittierte Schloßherr bewirtet sie mit auserlesenen Leckerbissen, in der Hoffnung, bei der unausbleiblichen großen Abrechnung mit einem blauen Auge davonzukommen. Geyer hört das Lärmen im Nebengemach, aber er ist am Ende seiner Kräfte. Da tritt Wilhelm ein, und ein schwacher Anruf Geyers läßt ihn erkennen, wen er vor sich hat. Aufs tiefste erschrocken, stellt ihn Wilhelm zur Rede, verweist auf die eigene gräßliche Lebensgefahr, verleugnet ihn und verweigert ihm das Asyl. Alle Vorstellungen Geyers, all sein Bitten ist vergebens. Die Angst um das eigene Leben macht den brutalen Schwager taub gegen Geyers bewegliches Flehen. Da versucht Geyer sich aufzuraffen mit einem bitteren „Leb wohl!“ Um die Stimme des sich regenden Gewissens zu übertäuben, fragt Wilhelm: „Kannst du mir Übles nachreden, hab ich es je mit den Bäurischen gehalten?“ Da antwortet Geyer:

Weiß Gott, was ich kann und was ich nit kann. Vier Tag'
hab ich nit geruht. Gewerkt hab ich wider die Bündischen, bis
alle Glieder mir abstarben. Wir haben die Schanz' gehalten, im

¹ Ich zitiere nach der Gesamtausgabe des dramatischen Werks (1932), II, 191 f.

Schlößlein zu Ingolstadt, bis uns das Pulver ausging; alsdann haben wir uns gewehrt mit Händen und Zähnen. Was überblieb, ist in ein'n Keller krochen und den verrammelt. Haben sie Pulver in die Mordgruben geschüttet und das angezündet. Wilhelm, wenn mich der Henker itzt an der Bank streckt, so kann ich für mein Urgesicht nit einstehn.

Und nun geschieht das Unerwartete. Mit „plötzlichem Entschluß“ deutet Wilhelm auf ein Nebengelaß, wo sich Geyer verkriechen solle. Die Worte, die die Gebärde begleiten, sind um keine Spur weniger brutal und gefühllos als vorher, aber er gestattet Geyer immerhin den Verbleib.

Wie deuten wir diesen Umschwung? Handelt es sich um ein psychologisches Wunder? Hat des Ärmsten bewegliche Rede ihn wirklich erweicht? Vermag des Wort des Flehenden mehr als die Furcht vor Verrücktheit und Schinder? Ist dies eine eben hinzunehmende Glanzleistung der Überredungskunst etwa wie bei Shakespeare, wo der Dämon Richard die ihn verabscheuende Anne schließlich doch mürbe kriegt und überwältigt? Angenommen es sei so, wären wir damit noch im Bereich des streng motivierenden naturalistischen Dramas? Nein, und abermals nein! Die Überredung Grumbachs bleibt ein psychologisches Rätsel, vom Dichter uns willkürlich aufoktroiert. Darüber kann nicht hinweg, wer es mit dramatischer Motivierung, wie Hauptmanns Frühzeit sie verstand, ernst nimmt. Darum war mir dieser Wendepunkt jahrelang ein Stein des Anstoßes.

Man grübelt über dem Text. Da gesellt sich dem psychologischen Rätsel ein weiteres, sprachliches zu. „Wilhelm, wenn mich der Henker itzt an der Bank streckt, so kann ich für mein Urgesicht nit einstehn.“ Das Strecken an der Bank versteht man, das ist die Marterbank des peinlichen Verhörs. Aber das Urgesicht? Darüber läßt sich spintisieren. Von Schweiß und Pulverdampf geschwärzt, ist Geyer sowieso fast unkenntlich. Will er etwa andeuten, seine Züge werden sich unter der Folter so verzerren, daß er nicht dafür garantieren kann, daß es noch sein eigenes Gesicht ist, welches den Peinigern entgegenflerscht? Oder geistert etwas von Mystik in seinen Worten, an das alte „Urständ“ erinnernd? Wird er etwa das eigene Gesicht nicht heil in die Ewigkeit hinüberretten? Beides immerhin sonderbare Vorstellungen bei der gegebenen Lage!

Da plötzlich, in ganz anderem Zusammenhang, nach wochenlangem angespanntem Sichvertiefen in eines der Quellenwerke, die Hauptmann eifrig benutzt hat, die Kriegschronik des Rothenburger Stadtschreibers Thomas Zweifel,² trifft es einen wie ein Donnerschlag: „Urgesicht“ ist ein sinnloser Fehler des Setzers. Es muß „Urgicht“ heißen!

Urgicht, Aussage vor Gericht, im peinlichen Verhör! Akten über Akten sind uns erhalten, bei Thomas Zweifel und anderwärts, überschrieben: Urgicht des Dionysius Schmid, Doktor Johan Deuschels Urgicht,

² Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges aus Rothenburg [sic!] an der Tauber, herausgegeben von Dr. Franz Ludwig Baumann. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CXXXIX. Tübingen, 1878.

Auszug etlicher Urgichten, u. s. w. Urgicht, ein überaus gebräuchliches Wort dieser Zeit, abgeleitet von „jehen“ (sagen), das jeder der Mittelhochdeutsch getrieben hat aus Wolfram kennt, + ur (aus). (Das „g“ vermutlich wie „j“ als Stimmlaut gesprochen, wie auch Götz von Berlichingen in seiner Lebensbeschreibung „Gülich“ schreibt, um die Grafschaft Jülich zu bezeichnen). Urgicht, ganz wie Beichte (bi-giht, von bi-jehen, aussagen, be-jehen). Es heißt *die* Urgicht. Hauptmann hat vielleicht in flüchtigen Zügen „mein Urgicht“ geschrieben, woraus der Setzer, der sich keinen Vers drauf machen konnte, „mein Urgesicht“ gemacht hat.

Dämmert es nun, daß damit die Stelle einen ganz andern Sinn bekommt, daß die Motivierung von Wilhelms Sinnesänderung damit bis aufs Tüpfelchen einwandfrei überzeugend, ja zwingend geworden ist?

Sein Schwager weiß sich kompromittiert und zittert für sein Leben. „Kannst du mir etwas Übles nachreden, habe ich es je mit den Baurischen gehalten?“, fragt der wendige Überläufer zur siegreichen Sache. Und Geyer entgegnet ihm: „Mein Gott, was ich kann und was ich nit kann.“ Und seine weiteren Worte zielen auf die Feststellung hin: Als ein Ehrenmann (der du nicht bist) werde ich wohl versuchen, reinen Mund zu halten und meine Schwester nicht ins Unglück zu bringen, aber so unmenschlich ausgelaugt wie ich bin nach den Kämpfen der letzten Tage, kann ich nicht garantieren, daß ich über deine Beteiligung nichts verrate, wenn die Qualen der Tortur das Maß des Tragbaren übersteigen. — In diesem Zustande darf er den Siegern nicht in die Hände fallen, sagt sich Grumbach.

Nur eine Frage bleibt unsrer Neugier vorbehalten: Steht das sinnlose Wort auch in den Rollen, die die Schauspieler lernen? Und warum hat Hauptmann sich nie um die Reinigung des gedruckten Textes gekümmert?

(2) Im „Vorspiel“, auf die Nachricht hin, daß sich Graf Wilhelm von Henneberg mit den Bauern verbündet hat, sagt Hans von Lichtenstein mit bitterem Sarkasmus: „Das ist nun der herrliche und zuverlässige Trost, den Grave Wilhelm unserm gnädigen Herrn, dem Bischof Konrad, durch Schickung und Schrift so läßlich und sicherlich zugesagt hat, daß er sich itzt mit den Bauern verbrüdet.“³ Und Heinz vom Stein sekundiert ihm: „Oh der Elenden Hilf', wir hätten wohl lange genug verziehen sollen, eh' uns versprochenermaßen von Henneberg wär' Kriegsvolk zukommen.“ Und von andrer Seite tönt es: „Die Brief' sind Papier blieben. Sind in die Aschen fallen und verbrannt.“

Was heißt hier: „Oh der Elenden Hilf'“? Ist das ein umschreibender Stoßseufzer, den er an einen Kirchenheiligen, etwa die Jungfrau Maria richtet?

Bescheid darüber wird einem, wenn man den Bericht des bischöflichen Schreibers zu Würzburg, Lorenz Fries,⁴ liest, der sich folgendermaßen ausläßt:

³ Werke II, 63.

⁴ Magister Lorenz Fries: Geschichte des Bauernkrieges in Ostfranken. [Im Druck veröffentlicht] Würzburg, 1883.

Das war der herlich und zuverlesig trost, den grave Wilhelm dem bischove von Wirtzburg durch schickung und schrifte so prechtlich zugesagt hette, des sich die fursten, graven, herren, ritter und knechte uf Unserfrauenberg so hoch freueten, der ehe in die aschen fiel, dan er ie in sein wirkung kame, auch nit ferner, dan in bapir und wort gezogen. O der elenden hilf, wie lang hette man darauf verziehen müssen, wie jemerlich were es zugangen, wen der almechtig got sunst kain hilf und rettung gesant hette! (S. 131).

Da sieht man, der bewußte Ausruf ist ein Genitiv der Enttäuschung, das Wort elend ist Attribut, und bloß eine flüchtige Schreibung oder ein Fehler des Setzers hat die Unklarheit geschaffen. Zugleich aber steckt in dem „elenden hilf“ unsres Fries ein bitteres Wortspiel auf die „eylende hilf“, die Wilhelm von Henneberg dem Bischof zugesagt hatte, wie es bei Fries oberhalb unsrer zitierten Stelle heißt, zumal „eylende hilf“ bei ihm wiederholt vorkommt und geradezu den Wert einer stehenden Redensart hat. Man nehme die zitierte Stelle übrigens als vorläufigen Beweis der Tatsache, daß Hauptmanns ganzes „Vorspiel“ eine außerordentlich nahe Anlehnung an Lorenz Fries aufweist. Wer dieses Quellenmaterial durchgearbeitet hat, weiß auch, daß Hauptmann sich ein, wenn nicht unfehlbares, so doch erstaunlich sicheres Gefühl für die Sprache des 16. Jahrhunderts im Laufe seiner diesmal überaus gründlichen Arbeit angeeignet hat.

(3) In Rothenburg, im 2. Akt, als das große Geschütz der Stadt nach Würzburg geführt werden soll, herrscht bei den Verbündeten der Bauern eine siegestrunkne Stimmung. Jörg Kumpf, der tatendurstige Jüngling, singt folgende kecke Strophe, die die Stimmen verschiedener Geschützarten lustig charakterisiert, ein beliebtes Motiv in den Lanzknechtliedern dieser Zeit:

Die Singerin singt den Tenor schon,
Die Nacht'gall den Alt in gleichem Ton;
Scharf Metz bassiert mit Schalle;
Die Schlange den Diskant warf darein;
Sie achten nit, wenn es g'falle.
Sie sunen, daß die Mauern klubend
Und Bett und Polster zum Dach ausstubend.⁵

Die Strophe stammt aus dem Lied „Hohenkrähen“, das die Einnahme des Raubnestes dieses Namens erzählt. Es findet sich bei Uhland⁶ und bei Liliencron⁷ mit für uns belanglosen orthographischen Abweichungen. Der fünfte Vers heißt indessen:

Sie achtend nit, *wem* es g'falle,

⁵ Werke II, 116.

⁶ Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder mit Abhandlungen und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Ludwig Uhland. Stuttgart und Tübingen. J. G. Cottascher Verlag. 1844. I, 470 f.

⁷ R. von Liliencron: Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert. Leipzig 1867, 4 Bände. III, Nr. 268, p. 73 f.

was sich ohne weiteres als das Richtige erweist. Ohne Hauptmanns Handschrift einzusehen, läßt sich natürlich nicht feststellen, wer das Versehen verschuldet hat. Prinzipiell sei hier vermerkt, daß alle im *Florian Geyer* gesungenen oder gesprochenen Verse – mit einer Ausnahme – aus zeitgenössischen Quellen geschöpft sind.

(4) Götz von Berlichingen, als „das Nußknackerlein“ verspottet, – eine Bezeichnung, die Hauptmann vermutlich der Betrachtung eines Glasgemäldes im Archiv der Götzenburg Jagsthausen, anscheinend aus dem Jahr 1547, verdankt –⁸ reitet draußen im Zuge und gibt Anlaß zu hämischen Bemerkungen über seine Redseligkeit, die ihn die Geschichte seiner Händel mit dem Bamberger Bischof bei jeder Gelegenheit an den Mann bringen läßt. „Wollt Ihr sie hören, Bruder Rektor?“, sagt der Schüler Martin, der den Kopf voller Schalksnarrenstreiche hat. „Ich will sie Euch Wort für Wort aufsagen, und wann Ihr ein alt Weib findet im Lande zu Franken, das sie nit herbetet wie das Paternoster, so möget Ihr mich lassen mit einem Kürbißbengel tot schlagen.“⁹

Wer hätte je von einem Kürbißbengel gehört? „Kürißbengel“ dagegen gibt es. Das Wort findet sich in Götzens *Lebensbeschreibung*, (S. 126 der Originalausgabe),¹⁰ wie schon Heinrich Lemcke, wenn ich nicht irre, in seinem Aufsatz „Götz von Berlichingen in Gerhart Hauptmanns *Florian Geyer*“¹¹ nachgewiesen hat. Und bei Götz erklärt der Herausgeber der *Lebensbeschreibung* das Wort als „eiserner Streit-Kolb“, sei es wegen seiner eisernen Beschläge (Panzerung), sei es, daß er sogar gegen den eisernen Ritterpanzer Verwendung fand. Auch Walter Heynen erklärt in dem – sehr dürftigen – Glossar seiner Schulausgabe das Wort „Kürißbengel“ als „eiserner Streitkolben“, aber im Text seiner Ausgabe¹² lesen wir doch wieder „Kürbißbengel“. Auf den ersten Blick erscheint es wohl als selbstverständlich, daß „Kürbißbengel“ schon des „ß“ wegen einen ulkigen „Dreckfehler“ darstellt. Aber ist es nicht ebenso denkbar, daß Hauptmann das Wort „Kürbißbengel“, auch wenn ursprünglich vielleicht einem Schreibfehler seine Entstehung verdankend, als lustige Variante bejaht haben sollte? Einen mit einem Kürbisprügel totschiagen – man kennt ja derartige Gurkengewächse – das wäre ein Einfall, eine Redensart, auf die sich der Schalk Martin wohl etwas zu gute tun möchte. Wie soll man sich da entscheiden? Non liquet, sagt der alte Lateiner, oder, mit Vater Briest zu reden: „Das ist ein zu weites Feld.“

⁸ Eine gute Wiedergabe findet man jetzt in Günther Franz: *Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 1933, München und Leipzig, 2 Bände, I, 315.

⁹ Werke II, 80.

¹⁰ *Lebensbeschreibung Herrn Gözens von Berlichingen* . . . zum Druck befördert von Verono Franck von Steigerwald, Nürnberg, 1731.

¹¹ *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum* . . . 1918, Band 41.

¹² S. Fischer, 1931.

THE WILLIAM A. SPECK COLLECTION OF GOETHEANA IN THE YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

A. R. HOHLFELD
University of Wisconsin

One day in Chicago, little short of forty years ago, Camillo von Klenze and the present writer condoled with one another on the limited opportunities afforded in America for fruitful research work in our field. At last Klenze, with fine realism, summed up the situation by saying that what we needed was not to worry about it but to help build the libraries in which those coming after us would be able to work profitably. Some ten years later, Hanns Oertel, now of the University of Munich, but then dean of the graduate school of Yale University, wrote me on February 8, 1913: "Im Vertrauen teile ich Ihnen mit, daß wir nächstens in Besitz einer großartigen Goethebibliothek kommen werden (erste Ausgaben etc.), die ein Apotheker Speck in Haverstraw seit 30 Jahren gesammelt hat." My delight at this piece of news was as great as my curiosity. Before the year was out I had to go to Cambridge as president of the Modern Language Association and, having learned that Yale had actually acquired not only the great collection but also its collector, I did not fail to go to New Haven to become acquainted with Mr. Speck and his treasures. I found both in quaint cramped quarters on the old campus and remember vividly the delightful enthusiasm and affectionate pride with which this truly great lover of Goethe ferreted out from but hastily arranged piles of books some especially choice bits to exhibit them to my admiring gaze. Almost twenty years later, in 1932, the Modern Language Association was to meet at Yale and again I was eager to see the Speck Collection, of which I had learned that it was now occupying spacious quarters in the beautiful new building of the Yale Library. Mr. Speck, for many years its devoted curator, had died several years ago and Professor Carl F. Schreiber, the new curator, showed me around. It was the year of the Goethe Centenary and some of the rarest and most interesting specimens of the Collection were displayed in brilliant show cases. Dingy narrowness had given way to artistic opulence. Most important, however, was the welcome information that the printing of a comprehensive catalogue had been decided upon and that the preparatory work on it had been started. It took another eight years of waiting, but at last the first instalment of this great catalogue, which has been planned as a series of four volumes, has been published by the Yale University Press, a stately, not to say imposing folio-volume, a veritable model of American printing and book making, the excellency of which in both form and content is in fine keeping with the significance of the treasures enumerated in it:

Goethe's Works with the Exception of Faust. A Catalogue by the Members of the Yale University Library Staff. Edited, Arranged and Supplied with Literary Notes and Preceded by an Introduction and a Biographical Sketch of William A. Speck by

Carl Frederick Schreiber . . . New Haven, Yale University Press,
... 1940 (XLIV and 239 pp. fol. \$10.00).

I did not wish to forego this bit of reminiscing. The incidents referred to are symbolic of half a century of American cultural and scholarly advancement and of the development of Germanic studies in particular.

As has just been said, the volume now published is only the first of a set of four. A second volume is to be devoted to "Faust" in its many ramifications. A third volume is to list the biographical material, and a fourth is to furnish addenda and a general index to the whole. If in view of so fine a performance and promise there can be anything but gratitude and appreciation, it is the apprehension that the very elaborateness of the enterprise may correspondingly defer its completion. The Faust volume especially will be looked forward to eagerly, for this section, as the editor tells us, "in point of rarities and in the wealth of its materials is by all odds the outstanding part of the Collection." Much as Professor Schreiber is to be congratulated on the present accomplishment, he is not to be envied the responsibility he has taken upon himself. His introduction to the present volume gives no hint as to the rate of progress anticipated for the remaining volumes.

The volume before us is appropriately dedicated "To Andrew Keogh," Emeritus University Librarian at Yale. The catalogue material proper is preceded by a delightfully intimate biographical sketch of William Alfred Speck (born of German parents in New York City in 1864; died in 1928), for the preparation of which Mr. Schreiber acknowledges his partial indebtedness to Mr. Speck's widow, Mrs. Sara R. Speck. He also gives special credit to the valuable assistance rendered him by his secretary, Miss Elisabeth Merklein, and to Miss Eva O'Meara, Librarian of the Yale School of Music for the identification, dating, and cataloguing of the musical settings. The volume is adorned by a fine reproduction of a but little known silhouette of Goethe (1786) as frontispiece and by 16 equally excellent reproductions of some of the rare manuscripts, letters, music, and pictures in the Collection that have special bearing on some of the items in this volume.¹

The strictly bibliographical description of the volumes has been done by members of the staff of Yale University Library. For works published prior to the death of Goethe as well as for some of the rarer and less accessible publications of a later date the data furnished under the heads of "collation" and "signature" are the most complete imaginable. In fact, I doubt that the same degree of bibliographic detail has ever been attempted in any other Goethe catalogue. Occasionally (e. g. nos. 2334, 2337-8, or 2366 ff.) it even seems that space might well have been saved.

Mr. Schreiber tells us that it had been Mr. Speck's desire not to have a catalogue drily enumerating titles, but one with some "life" in it. This

¹ They have been previously published in the "Centenary Portfolio of Facsimiles and Reproductions from the William A. Speck Collection" of 1932.

idea has been skillfully and abundantly realized in the critical and literary notes, often quite extensive and always attractively written, which have been added to many of the items, where by a special sort of paragraph sign they are set off from the bibliographical data furnished by the library staff as the special contributions of the editor. It is these notes, marked as they are by broad and accurate learning in the field of Goethe research, that actually make many parts of this unusual catalogue intensely interesting reading. Some of them (e. g. nos. 9, 13, 897, 1034, 1571 a) are regular miniature essays. Their significance is often heightened by the reproduction of pertinent passages from some of the hitherto unpublished manuscripts in the Collection. In their entirety they constitute a valuable body of information on many of Goethe's writings and give ample proof of the intense scholarly labor the curator of the Collection has bestowed upon the treasures entrusted to his care.

To give an adequate idea of the wealth and variety of the materials listed in this first volume of the catalogue is out of the question. The numerical count runs from 1 to 2373, although the number of actual items may be somewhat less since in the interest of directness of presentation quite a few works are quoted — and numbered — in more than one place. Cf. e. g. 96:882, 748:989, 2061:2116 or even 672:1755:2197. Also, for poems or other items appearing in a journal or collection two numbers are used, one for the item itself and one for the place where it appears. Cf. e. g. 539:40, 1589:90, 1951:52. On the other hand, for special reasons, occasionally the same number with a, b, c added, is used for more than one item. Cf. e. g. 783 a, 31 a-e. Be that as it may, and making all allowance for the fact that in the section of collected works many an item represents a large number of volumes, the material enumerated in the present volume can represent only a small part of the total number of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, compositions, and illustrations in the entire Collection, estimated at approximately 24,000.

The first section marshals the "collected works", first those published during the poet's life, from the early unauthorized editions by Heilmann (to which priority is given), Himburg, Schmieder a. o. (six of these are represented) to the "Ausgabe letzter Hand", then those published after his death, including translations, illustrations, and "selected works" (nos. 1-138). This is followed by the extensive section devoted to the poems, including the *Divan* (nos. 139-684), a large share of which is given to "musical settings" (nos. 290-525). After that the arrangement of the "individual works" is chronological, from *Labores juveniles* to *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and the rest of the autobiographical and a few other late writings (nos. 685-2186). The remainder (nos. 2187-2373) is devoted to small sections on the more important "fragments" (from *Prometheus* to *Pandora*; but *Mahomet*?), the "Maskenzüge", the two journals, the "scientific works", and finally works, translated, edited or prefaced by Goethe or attributed to him. Two separate appendixes — a list of poems and one

of composers — facilitate reference to the musical settings. In each instance, the listing of the various editions of each individual work is followed by the enumeration of translations, commentaries, critical works and otherwise interesting or supplementary materials. This arrangement is both logical and practical. Nevertheless, in the absence of an index (reserved for vol. 4) it would not always be easy to find one's way about or, especially, to make sure that some specific item is *not* listed, were it not for the detailed and well arranged table of contents (pp. VII-XII).

By far the most distinguished section, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is that on *Werther*. It contains over 600 items (nos. 792-1400) and is remarkably rich in early editions (13 from 1774-77) and translations, as well as in adaptations, parodies, poems, illustrations, etc., both German and foreign. Fourteen languages are represented by one or more translations, French by 36, English by 64.² Surprisingly extensive is also the section on *Reineke Fuchs* (nos. 1763-1849). This, to be sure, is largely due to the fact that the entire Germanic Reynard literature is represented, in inverse chronological sequence, from Gottsched's translation of 1752 to the M. H.G. version of the 12th century, an arrangement which I must admit not to have found as "übersichtlich" as the editor considers it. As a matter of fact, most of this Reynard material has little or no connection with Goethe literature ever so broadly interpreted. It might have been omitted quite as appropriately as the literature of the French "branches" of the epic, which likewise is extensively represented in the Collection, but excluded from the Catalogue (cf. no. 1841, note). In all probability it owes its presence to some capricious fancy of the original collector or to some stray chance in the book-collectors' "market". Circumstances of this sort, connected with the origin of the Collection, have to be borne in mind in order to understand and accept as inevitable a number of strange unevennesses of plus or minus that characterize certain portions of the Catalogue. Unusual, for instance, although in no sense disturbing is a peculiar overabundance of some rather insignificant or out of the way items. There are, for instance, as many as 8 different "editions" of the eroticon, *Das Tagebuch*, which Goethe excluded from his works (nos. 641-48); 7 numbers deal with the German original and with English translations of Mämpel's *Der junge Feldjäger* (Leipzig, 1826 ff.), for which Goethe wrote an introduction (nos. 2334-40); 9 items represent the literary hoax of the scurrilous "Dissertatio de pulicibus" (Amsterdam, 1734), which C. H. G. Köchy in 1824 tried to fasten on Goethe as its author (nos. 2366-73). On the other hand, while for *Reineke Fuchs* far more than the immediate source material is included, none whatever is listed,

² Items, not that many translations. Some translations are represented by numerous editions. The Pratt translation is represented by 15 English and American editions, the Malthus translation by as many as 28. Incidentally, the first English translation of "Werther" (London, Dodsley, 1779), which has been traditionally ascribed to Richard Graves (thus still in Morgan²), on the authority of Kippenberg, 1925 and C. J. Hill, 1932, is attributed to Daniel Malthus (cf. no. 823 a). Graves thus no longer appears among the translators of Werther.

for instance, for *Egmont* or *Iphigenie* and surprisingly little for *Tasso*. Inconsistencies of a similar nature characterize also the critical literature dealing with the various single works. For *Wilhelm Meister* some 15 items represent fairly adequately the most important critical studies, while for the poems not a single similar item appears. Of separate annotated editions those by Loeper, Blum, and Harnack are listed, but of the strictly interpretive studies, to mention only Viehoff, Düntzer, Lichtenberger, Kutscher, Hehn, not one is quoted. Similar discrepancies, even if not quite so striking, could be pointed out for other works. One also wonders at the haphazard inclusion of a few American school and college texts without any special merit (cf. e. g. nos. 156 or 2005). This does not apply, to be sure, to Feise's edition of *Werther* (no. 818), which is well entitled to its place.

I do not think, however, that criticism of this sort is as pertinent as might appear at first blush, and that for at least two reasons. A great private collection of early, rare, or otherwise unusual works concerning some great literary figure or theme cannot be judged according to the standards of a departmental collection in a university or great public library. Standard reference works that can be bought at fixed prices at practically any time cannot be expected to arouse the interest, let alone the adventurous enthusiasm of a true "collector". The Speck Collection was started and in part at least subsequently developed as a collector's library. In 1920, for instance, it was enlarged at one stroke by the acquisition of 6000 items from the Georg Ehrhardt collection of Faustiana, which placed it "in the forefront of the great *Faust* collections of the world". Besides, it is by no means only a Goethe library, but also a Goethe museum, that embraces portraits, illustrations, medals, playbills, musical compositions, art objects, and the like. A collection of this kind will owe no little of its character to chance, it will be rich to overflowing in some sections and surprisingly meager, at least relatively, in others. No doubt, much has been done, especially by the present curator, to bring about a more equitable distribution and to provide much of the necessary reference material for systematic study and research; but the fundamental character of the collection remains and I, for one, believe should remain. Such a collection must be judged positively by the unusual character of what it contains, not negatively by what it may happen to lack.

Moreover, and that is the second reason for not applying conventional standards, the Speck Collection, although physically and administratively a unit of its own, is housed and in various ways treated as an integral part of Yale Library. The editor himself calls attention to the important periodical holdings of the University Library (p. XVIII), and most of such critical and reference material as one might be surprised not to find in the present Catalogue if the Collection had to be used by itself are readily accessible in the corresponding sections of the departmental collections. Besides, and that is of course of crucial importance, all the Goethe items

of the departmental library are listed in the card catalogue of the Speck Collection and vice versa all Speck material is included in the catalogue of the University Library. These aspects of the situation seemed to me so important for a proper appreciation of what Yale University has created as a great center for Goethe knowledge and Goethe research in this country that I took pains to secure from authoritative sources the information here given.

It is another question whether for the present Catalogue it would not have been an advantage rather than a disadvantage to include in it, in addition to the text and source material that constitutes nine-tenths of its bulk and practically all of its special significance, only such critical and expository items as are old (prior to 1850?) or rare or otherwise unusual. A brief introductory statement could then have pointed out that the general works of reference or criticism required for research in Goethe, which are omitted from the Catalogue, are available in either the Speck Collection or the University Library, if not in both.

* * * * *

Thus far, the account I have rendered of my meanderings through this first volume of the Speck Catalogue has been one of admiration, praise, and defense. To make these positive findings the more convincing I now propose to give some evidence of not having proceeded uncritically.

The typographical work on the volume, difficult and complicated as it is from start to finish, has been done not only beautifully but also with remarkable accuracy. Only in a few rare instances have I noticed inaccuracies in the use of hyphens, accents and the like. A diminutive list will be gladly furnished on application. The diplomatic reproduction of titles which in foreign editions frequently are not free from errors has led to the consistent use of [!] in even the most apparent cases. Where no such warning appears it is at times impossible to say where responsibility for the error is to be placed. Thus I note: Der getreue Eckert (no. 205); Wolfango Goethe (no. 269); Interlineair Ausgabe (no. 910). The Catalogue is responsible for Hans (instead of Hanns) Oertel (p. XXXVIII), for James Anthony Froud (no. 882), and for "ein" (instead of "einen") in the note on no. 2199. — Nos. 1569-71 belong with no. 91, if for no other reason, to show the complete series of Miss Swanwick's translations of Goethe's dramas. — Under no. 120 there should be a reference to no. 108. — For Cotta's "Taschenbuch für Damen" (no. 190) "München [etc.]" is misleading as place of publication. From 1801 to 1819 it was Tübingen, later Stuttgart und Tübingen. München, Stuttgart und Tübingen could apply only to the 1831 volume. — In a note on no. 1425, "Spectatoriaale Schouwburg," 29 vols., Amsterdam, 1775-1801, the editor points out that this "Sammelwerk", which is not widely known, contains two dramas of Goethe in early Dutch translations that are not noted in Goedeke. The only one mentioned (no 1424) is *Clavigo* (1781). A reference to no. 1500 would have made clear that the other one, as one cannot help guessing,

was *Egmont* (date not given). — Under no. 1541 a one expects a reference to no. 31 e. — Among the translations of the *Italienische Reise* (nos. 2126-29) no mention is made of the 1849 English translation by Morrison, contained in nos. 1312 and 2104; nor is Morrison mentioned as the translator of no. 2126. — Similarly, for the *Campagne in Frankreich* (no. 2153) reference should be made to no. 101 (also by Farie). — A peculiar case is the confused pagination of vol. 1 of the Unger edition of "Goethe's neue Schriften", 1792 ff., which has led to collation errors in all catalogues to which I have referred. The Speck Catalogue makes matters worse. The collation reads: 2 p.l., [3]-464 [i. e. 366] p. (p. [245-246] blank). As a matter of fact, the pagination jumps from [242] to [247] and from 290 to 391, a loss of 104 pp., leaving 360 pp. The break between [242] and [247] has apparently been caused by the insertion at this point of a folding plate; but plates in this edition, as indeed generally, are not counted as pages. Hence, Goedeke, too, is wrong when he says: "richtig 362 S." Likewise Friedr. Meyer a. o. — For the "Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen" of 1772 (no. 58 ff.). I miss a reference to the reprint in "Seufferts Neudrucken." Cf. Introduction, p. XVI: "Modern inexpensive reprints of important items have . . . been deliberately included." Also of no. 565, which to be sure is not important, there exists a modern reprint published in 1935.

For personal reasons I made a fairly detailed examination of some of the subdivisions devoted to the Poems, particularly the English translations. It is, as I know from experience, a bewilderingly complicated subject. Material of this sort renders the least trouble when it occurs in specific volumes of Goethe's Poems translated by one translator; but much of it is scattered through magazines, or attached to volumes of original verse, or contained in collections of translations from various poets by different translators. Titles, whether German or English, do of course not suffice to identify an individual translation. An opening line or two, which take space, are required for that purpose. It is true, most of the translations are of questionable or less than questionable value, but the subject itself is not — Goethe's poetry, accessible to English or for that matter other foreign readers not knowing German.

For Goethe's poems scattered through German almanacs (no. 184 ff.) the editor very appropriately has availed himself of the advantage of referring to Arthur Goldschmidt's *Goethe im Almanach*, Lpzg., 1932, an exceedingly interesting publication, the bibliographic value, wealth, and accuracy of which I must admit not to have adequately appreciated before. When, as for no. 192, the Catalogue (inconsistently) enumerates the Goethe poems contained in this item, only reference to Goldschmidt informs us what is meant by titles like "Er" (Klein ist unter den Fürsten) or "Wahrnehmungen" (Ist denn so groß das Geheimnis). But for volumes of a somewhat similar character that are not almanacs and hence not included in Goldschmidt we are in many instances left in the dark. For

some (e. g. nos. 189, 191, 194, a. o.) no information whatever is given and we can only assume that they contain some poems by Goethe because they are listed in this section. For no. 193 a note states that it "includes six poems by Goethe, four with music". These four are named, but not the other two. Most of these publications, it must be remembered, antedate Goethe's death and thus belong to that group of source material to which the Catalogue as a matter of principle gives special attention. For the great mass of the more recent collections in which Goethe is more or less represented no such specific information would of course be called for. When given, it should however be adequate for identification. This is not the case when for no. 209 two poems are referred to as "Lied" and "Trinklied".

The difficulties here indicated are increased manyfold when translations are concerned. It is to be greatly regretted therefore that the editor in this section has not availed himself of the same makeshift as in the case of the almanacs and as adopted by Professor B. Q. Morgan in his Bibliography, who (2. ed., p. 574) states: "For fuller discussion of all volumes containing poems by G. in Engl. translation, see 'Hinz' and 'Simmons'." These two authorities (L. V. T. Simmons: *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation Prior to 1860*, 1919 and G. M. Hinz: (same) *After 1860*, 1928) are neither listed nor referred to in the Catalogue, although in the great majority of cases they would conveniently furnish the lacking information; Hinz even more completely than Simmons, since opening lines are given in Hinz, but not in Simmons. To these two fundamental bibliographies for their respective fields should be added (not listed in Morgan) the very valuable list of corrections and addenda which, for the period covered by Miss Simmons, Professor H. G. Fiedler has published in "The Modern Language Revue", XVIII (1923), 51-67.³ Without reference to these aids, however, the data furnished in the Catalogue remain quite inadequate. Strange to say, there is one single instance, no. 241, where a complete inventory is given, with both titles and first lines. In this case a reference to Fiedler, p. 61 would have sufficed. For the rest of the items the treatment accorded them is again quite uneven. In some 10 cases the titles of the translated poems are given, generally in English, but occasionally (nos. 240, 242) in German; for about as many items it is merely stated how many Goethe poems they contain; and finally in 5 instances (nos. 246, 253, 254, 256, 259) no specific data at all are given. Even where titles are quoted they are not infrequently puzzling. For no. 244 "Bride of Messina" is given as the title of a Goethe poem. Reference to Fiedler, p. 63 informs us that what is meant is 5 stanzas referring to Schiller's *Braut von Messina* in *Maskenzug 1818* (Jub.-Ausg. 9, 359-60). Besides, without reference to the listing of the poems in that particular volume (J. J. Campbell's *The Song of the Bell and Other Poems*, 1836) in Sim-

³ What little additional material Davis, Lieder, Oswald, and Carré contain is rather unimportant.

mons, we could never know that "Drinking Song" stands for "Bundeslied" and that "Farewell" is "Der Abschied" (Laß mein Aug') and not perchance "Abschied" (War unersättlich). Not a few other titles, coined by the translators and quoted in the Catalogue for the identification of poems, are practically unrecognizable. Here are a few: "On Hearing of My Songs Being Translated into English" (no. 245) = "Ein Gleichnis" (Jüngst pflückt' ich einen Wiesenstrauß); "Constancy" (no. 245) = "Trost in Tränen"; "In a Glade" (no. 255) = "Gefunden"; "In Absence" (no. 255) = "An die Entfernte" (So hab' ich wirklich dich verloren⁴); "Bokhara No Reserve I Make" (no. 255) = "Hätt' ich irgend wohl Bedenken" (from "Buch Suleika").

The Catalogue, in this section, lists three items (nos. 219, 254, 263) which, as far as I can see at this moment, have not heretofore been listed as containing Goethe poems in English translations. Specific information concerning them would therefore have been especially welcome, but none is given. Also, no. 1629 (Cartwright's Tasso translation of 1861) evidently contains a rendering of "Mignon", not mentioned in Hinz or Morgan.

Since Professor Schreiber stresses the thought that the Catalogue has been planned in large part with the view of suggesting and aiding research, I should like to point out at once as a desideratum the preparation of a complete and detailed index of Goethe's Poems in English translation: date, translator, location, title — when necessary in both languages —, opening lines, and succinct evaluation.

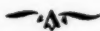
In conclusion I wish to make a few brief suggestions of a general nature in the hope that they may commend themselves to the editor in connection with his plans for the later volumes. (1) Could not page numbers be given for all volumes, not only the rare and early ones? It would hardly ever require an additional line and knowledge of the size of a book is often both interesting and useful. (2) The Catalogue, according to approved bibliographic practice, lists works in several volumes as follows: (e.g.) 20 vols. 1806-19. Thus the date of an individual volume, that it may well be important to know, cannot be ascertained. *Egmont*, for instance, appeared in vol. 19 of the "Spectatoriaale Schouwburg", 29 vols. 1775-1801; but from the data given it is impossible to determine the date of this first Dutch translation of the drama. Generally the research scholar is likely to be more interested in dates and content than in bibliographical minutiae unless these are needed as checks for identification or proof of completeness. This suggests (3) that, particularly for editions and collections not analyzed in Goedeke, it would be helpful to have information as to content more generally given than has been done; especially as the principle has been recognized in some instances. Cf. e.g. nos. 69 and 70 and particularly no. 22, a 19 volume edition of Goethe's Works in German, published at Upsala, 1811-20, for which volume by volume date and content are given; unfortunately a solitary performance. (4) and last: For

⁴ Goethe has two poems with this title.

publications in foreign languages the Catalogue seems to assume well-nigh omniscient readers. For Chinese and Japanese a condescending exception is made, but Polish, Russian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Hebrew and Yiddish (in Hebrew characters) are expected to tell their own story. I admit the case is not very important, for the names of translators are generally given and the very placement of the titles in certain sections suggests their content in a general way. Also, those unacquainted with a given language cannot make any use of a work in that language and — "that's that". Nevertheless, some of the titles look intriguingly long, and I for one would like to know for instance where the two Yiddish translations of *Werther* were published. Warsaw? New York?

* * * * *

I come to the close of my remarks, which are offered as a token of my profound interest in and admiration of what Yale University has accomplished in building up and making more widely accessible a truly imposing institution for the scholarly study of Goethe. I almost feel like apologizing for what I have said by way of criticism and suggestions for improvement. But I know that without this discriminating interpolation the critically learned editor would not have thought much of my performance. Nevertheless I emphatically decline to leave the contemplation of an achievement of such excellence in all of its important aspects in the act of pointing out what are small, if not insignificant shortcomings in some of its minor features. What has been done and done well outweighs completely what may have been overlooked. The prime distinction and usefulness of the Speck Collection consists in its rare wealth of Goethean source materials. It is but fitting therefore that the library staff of the University and Professor Schreiber as curator of the Collection and as editor of the Catalogue should have concentrated their skill and care and learning in full measure on this central core, which they perhaps could not have done had they attempted to spread their labors more evenly over the entire field. As it is, a great work has been achieved, of which all connected with its preparation and completion may justly be proud. In the creative spheres of culture and art and scholarship, even if not in the humbler tasks of application and distribution, wisdom demands that "whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath."



HEINE'S "ROTE PANTOFFELN": WIT AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

HERMAN SALINGER
University of Wisconsin

"Die Poesien sind etwas ganz Neues und geben keine alten Stimmungen in alter Manier; aber zu ihrer Würdigung sind nur die ganz naiven Naturen und die ganz großen Critiker berufen."

On a summer day in the year 1854, as the Paris sun swung midway in the sign of the Lion and Heinrich Heine's illness entered more and more into its final stages, he wrote the above words to his friend and publisher, Julius Campe.¹ His remarks are intended to describe the poems which appeared in October of the same year, grouped together under the non-committal and somewhat disappointingly un-Heinesque title, *Gedichte 1853-54*. "Nur die ganz naiven Naturen", however, will take these poems at their face value, and yet even "die ganz großen Critiker" have sometimes been surprisingly unsuspecting. Perhaps it is as dwellers in some Midgard region between these two categories, let us say merely as inquiring students eager to see beneath appearances, that we approach one of these poems, "Rote Pantoffeln." The fable form is frequent in *Romanzero* and, if anything, more so in the poetic work following that collection. It is as if Heine's drugged mind turned for a sort of recreation to the fable, not because of any loss of mental agility; quite to the contrary, rather since that simple form allowed great room for the play of wit and the antics of an imagination stimulated by narcotics. Does he not close this very letter to Campe (an anything but "sleepy" affair) with the apologetic remark: "Ich habe heute schon einen Centner Opium verschluckt und bin sehr schläfrig"?

"Rote Pantoffeln" is one of the most revealing and rewarding of Heine's fabulistic poems: outwardly simple and inwardly *raffiniert*, thus thoroughly characteristic of the poet's style. Here, if ever, we must read between the seemingly artless lines which one editor after another has passed over in silence. In simple four-beat couplets of straightforward, predominantly iambic verse, Heine tells the story.

Properly we should quote the fifty-two lines, but let us recapitulate setting, characters, and action. First we meet the cat, old, grey and evil, who pretends to be "eine Schusterfrau". Our little epic, drama or what-have-you takes place before and within the shop of this crafty old feline, who has set enticing slippers in her shop window:

Pantöffelchen von Maroquin,
Von Saffian und von Satin,
Von Samt, mit goldnen Borden garniert
Und buntgeblühten Bändern verziert.

Most enticing among these is "ein scharlachrotes Pantöffelchenpaar".

¹ *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel*, hrsgg. v. Friedrich Hirth, III. Band, Berlin, 1920; p. 440 f.

These do not fail to lure the heroine, "eine junge, weiße Edeldame", who cannot pass them by, but turns about again to give them a second look and to inquire their price of "Frau Kitze, Frau Katze". The shopkeeper invites her to honor the shop with her presence, assuring her that the best young ladies, even duchesses and other women of the nobility, are among her clientèle, and advising her to try on the slippers ["die Töffelchen"] so that she may see whether they fit.

So flötet die boshafte listige Katz',
Und das weiße, unerfahrene Ding
In die Mördergrub', in die Falle ging —

However, in a catfit of ironic generosity she promises to put the scarlet slippers on the grave of the white mouse, so that when the trumpet blows for the resurrection ["Zum jüngsten Tanz"], the mouse may arise with the others and don the much-desired pair. The poem ends with a four-line "Moral", in which all white mice are cautioned against the lures of worldly splendor and advised

lieber barfuß zu laufen,
Als bei der Katze Pantoffeln zu kaufen.

This is certainly a simple enough story, simply told, but most charmingly. Not a little of its charm resides probably in the over-patterning of diminutives,² and the interlarding of other childlike features. For example, the lines:

"Ich grüß' Euch, Frau Kitze, Frau Katze,
Gar schöne rote Pantöffelchen hat Sie . . ."

might even be a direct borrowing from some children's song or game. In any case, the expression and its rhyme had been in Heine's consciousness many years, for a variation of them occurs in a letter dated the 9th of January 1835.³ It is not impossible, in fact, that the entire little ballad of the red slippers germinated from this expression as Heine lay on his mattress grave.

Yet another circumstance points toward the likelihood that the poem is, as I have felt, more deeply rooted than would become apparent through a mere surface reading. In Book V of *Ludwig Börne* we read the following:

Ob wir einst auferstehen? Sonderbar! meine Tagesgedanken
verneinen diese Frage, und aus reinem Widerspruchsgeiste wird
sie von meinen Nachträumen bejaht. So z. B. träumte mir un-
längst: ich sei in der ersten Morgenfrühe nach dem Kirchhof ge-

² *Lädchen / Mädchen; Dirnchen; Jungferlein; Madel; Beinchen; Köpfchen / Geschöpfchen; Mäuschen*. The italicized words have the added emphasis of being used as rhyme-words.

³ This variation reads: "Frau Kitze, Frau Katze, / Schön Feuerchen hatse, u. s. w." Hirth (*Briefwechsel*, II. Band, 1917, p. 57) considers the addressee to have been Helmine von Chezy, but Elster (*Heines Werke*, 2te. Ausg., III. Bd., p. 420) quite reasonably contests this. ["Verwechslung?"]

gangen, und dort zu meiner höchsten Verwunderung sah ich, wie bei jedem Grabe ein Paar blankgewichster Stiefel stand, ungefähr wie in den Wirthshäusern vor den Stuben der Reisenden . . . Das war ein wunderlicher Anblick, es herrschte eine sanfte Stille auf dem ganzen Kirchhof, die müden Erdenpilger schliefen, Grab neben Grab, und die blankgewichsten Stiefel, die dort in langen Reihen standen, glänzten im frischen Morgenlicht so hoffnungsreich, so verheißungsvoll wie ein sonnenklarer Beweis der Auferstehung.⁴

Nor is this all. The self-same thought occurs in a conversation with Alfred Meissner, who assigns it to the year 1850, more than a decade after the composition of *Ludwig Börne*, hence much closer to the fabulistic period when "Rote Pantoffeln" was written.⁵ Though not of great moment here, this repetition is of more than passing interest, since it opens up the question of genuineness *vs.* a sort of self-plagiarism. As Ilse Weidekamp points out,⁶ there is not necessarily any contradiction of the earlier passage in the date as given by Meissner, since the dream may have been of that recurrent type familiar to many, Heine apparently included. Otherwise, we must consider Heine to have been guilty of an overt "Plagiat an sich selber", to quote a phrase of his own in *Geständnisse*, and this is the less likely, since he was at the time talking to Meissner, who might have been very quick to recognize it. The point is that the motif of the shoes by the graves, used again in "Rote Pantoffeln", proceeded directly from the "unconscious" of the poet into his conscious literary work and even into his social intercourse.

Though it is hardly necessary to touch upon it, there is also a certain similarity in moral attitude, on the part of "Rote Pantoffeln", to a very early effort, "Die Lehre" (1816), which is likewise replete with diminutives, and the hero of which, a curiously phototropic bee (!), also suffers annihilation by flying into the face of temptation.

We have already devoted an amount of attention to this fable worthy only of an animal-lover or a Heine specialist. Is there any meaning behind it to justify this interest? The "Bienelein, Söhnelein" of "Die Lehre" is none other than Heine himself. And who, then, is the white mouse of the later fable-ballad? Considerations of grammatical gender notwithstanding, there are surprising indications of an identity between the poet and his rodent heroine. Especially is this true when we take note that the tragic locus of the demise of the deceased is a shoe-shop run by this "gar böse Katze". The moral, *nota bene*, is "Laßt euch nicht ködern von weltlicher Pracht," whereby the slippers become the symbol of that which is worldly and *immoral*, i. e., the object of attack by the closing four-line

⁴ Heinrich Heines *Sämtliche Werke*, hrsgg. v. Ernst Elster,¹ VII, 131.

⁵ H. H. Houben: *Gespräche m. Heine*, 1926. Meissner's report (p. 694 f.) is remarkably like the *Börne* passage, even to the point of literal repetition. His *Erinnerungen* appeared in 1856, the year of Heine's death.

⁶ *Traum und Wirklichkeit in der Romantik und bei Heine*, Leipzig, 1932. (*Palaestra*, 182). Pp. 101 f., and esp. note, p. 102.

"Moral". Now, we know that Heine's feelings toward Mathilde were more than occasionally ambivalent. Despite the beautiful expression of their happier side in many poems, there exists a not inconsiderable body of evidence in the contrary sense, e. g., *Unstern* and *Celimene*. What an appropriate setting for an outlet to these emotions is provided by the shoe-shop of the old cat! Heine met Mathilde in October 1834, when she was selling boots and shoes in a shop owned by her aunt. Having once identified the mouse, it doesn't require too great a stretch of the imagination to see the aunt as the "böse Katze so alt und grau" and to identify the alluring slippers.

To be sure, all this, plus the tempting possibility of viewing the poem in the light of a Freudian interpretation of its symbols (which tends only to confirm our results): these are matters of conjecture. But it seems more than likely that had Heine confined his flirtations to the outside of the shop and kept the window between himself and Mathilde, he might not, some twenty years later, have written the concluding lines:

Ich rat' euch, lieber barfuß zu laufen,
Als bei der Katze Pantoffeln zu kaufen.



DIE ROMANTISCHE SEELE

*Zu dem Buch von Albert Béguin „L'âme romantique et le rêve“
(Editions des Cahiers du Sud, Marseille)*

OSKAR SEIDLIN
Smith College

Die Vermittlung zwischen deutschem und französischem Geistesgut gehört zu den stolzesten Ruhmestaten, die die Schweiz der europäischen Kultur erwiesen hat. Diesem Auftrag haben die größten Schweizer sich unterzogen, und daß auch in unseren Tagen die verantwortungsvolle Aufgabe erlebt und erfüllt wird, beweist das Buch des jungen, früher in Genf, jetzt in Basel wirkenden Gelehrten Albert Béguin. Es gehört nicht zu den allerletzten Neuerscheinungen, es erschien schon vor etwas mehr als zwei Jahren, doch da das bedeutende Werk in Germanistenkreisen vielfach übersehen worden ist, sei diese Gelegenheit ergriffen, um einmal ausführlich darauf hinzuweisen.

Schon was hier an reinem Material dem französischen Kulturkreis über die deutsche Romantik vermittelt wird, würde genügen, um dem groß angelegten zweibändigen Werk den ihm zustehenden Platz zu sichern. Nicht nur mit dem dichterischen Werk der deutschen Romantik befaßt sich Béguin; auf der Suche nach der romantischen Seele trifft er auf den ausgebreiteten und – nicht nur in Frankreich – so gut wie unbekannten Kreis der Philosophen, in denen der gewaltige geistige Elan des anbrechenden 19. Jahrhunderts sein System fand. Nicht nur die „Vorläufer“, Lichtenberg und Karl Ph. Moritz, treten auf (auch sie unter einem ungewohnten, bisher ganz übersehenen Aspekt), sondern auch die große Schule der „Naturphilosophen“, deren mystisch-spekulativer Geist sich von Hamann forterbt zu Franz von Baader, Ignaz-Vital Troxler, Heinrich v. Schubert, Carl Gustav Carus.

Fast ans Wunderbare grenzt also schon die Menge des verarbeiteten Stoffes. Aber es wäre falsch zu glauben, es ginge dem Autor um ein Wissenskompendium. In keinem Absatz stößt man auf totes Material; alle Werkkenntnis ist eingeschmolzen in privates Erlebnis, und niemals zweifelt man an dem Bekenntnis Béguins, daß dieses Werk suchen und aussprechen soll die Melodie seiner eigenen Seele und die der menschlichen Seele überhaupt. Denn nicht weniger als dies will Béguin: die Frage nach der menschlichen Existenz stellen, so wie die Romantiker sie sich gestellt haben, die „condition humaine“ aufzeigen, den Platz des Humanum im All.

Also nicht um Psychologie kann es sich handeln, so wenig wie es sich für die Romantiker darum gehandelt hat. Die geistige Leistung dieser Dichter und Denker war Existentialphilosophie, und Metaphysik ist also das Anliegen Béguins. Zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts mußte die Frage nach der menschlichen Existenz neu gestellt werden. Mit Kants vorsichtiger Zagheit, die Metaphysik auszuklammern aus dem Gebiet menschlichen Denkens, konnte sich die kommende Generation nicht zufrieden geben. Man mußte „über Kant hinaus“. Aber eine Rückkehr zum dogmatischen

Realismus konnte es nicht mehr geben seit Kants gewaltiger kritischer Zertrümmerung. Verworfen wurde der Bewußtseins-Seelenbegriff, der seit Descartes das abendländische Denken beherrschte; er mußte Platz machen dem neuen, dem Lebens-Seelenbegriff, der zugleich ein sehr alter war, aus religiösen Bezirken stammend. Die Ratio hörte auf, der Mittelpunkt des Menschen zu sein, an anderer Stelle fand man das Zentrum: im Gefühl, im Unbewußten.

Dieser neue Weg mußte zu alten Gefilden führen. Die Renaissance lebte wieder auf und mit ihr die Mystik, die seit je die Kraft des inneren Sinnes gegen die Kraft des Verstandes gesetzt hatte. Die Seele war nicht mehr an die Ratio gebunden, alles Lebende trug Seele in sich, und lebend war alles, der Mensch so gut wie der Stein. Durch seine Seele war der Mensch dem lebenden All verbunden, sein Unbewußtes bildete das magische Band, das ihn mit dem Kosmos und seinem Geist verknüpfte. Und der Traum, der seine Bilder dem „natürlichen Licht“ abgewandt, in der Nacht verbreitete, war ein Bote und Zeugnis des All-Seienden.

Der Weg zur Erkenntnis der großen kosmischen Einheit führte also nicht mehr über die Vernunft, sondern über das Unbewußte. Real ist nicht die äußere, disparate Natur, real ist die magische Natur, deren Zeichen und geistige Entfaltung der Mensch in seinem Inneren trägt. „Er muß in sich hinabsteigen und dort die verschiedenen Spuren finden, die, in der Liebe, der Sprache, der Poesie, in allen Bildern des Unbewußten, ihn wieder an seine Ursprünge erinnern können; in der Natur selbst muß er all das wieder entdecken, was auf dem Grunde seiner Seele dunkel das Gefühl einer heiligen Ähnlichkeit wachruft; er muß sich der schlummernden Keime bemächtigen und sie pflegen.“

Dies die neue Forderung, der alle Naturphilosophen, alle Romantiker folgen werden. So verschieden auch die Wege der einzelnen sein mögen, zu einem gemeinsamen Ziele sind sie aufgebrochen: zur Erforschung des Unbewußten, der Nacht und ihrer Träume. Der Radikalste dieser Neumystiker, die die verlorene Natureinheit suchen und die fluchwürdige Individualisierung überbrücken wollen, ist fraglos der Schweizer Philosoph *I. V. Troxler*. Er ist der entschiedenste Metaphysiker des Traumes, dem auch die nächtlichen Bilder des Einzelnen noch nicht die wahre Offenbarung unseres Seins bedeuten. Zu sehr haften ihnen noch Reste und Eindrücke der Tagesexistenz an. Hinter diesen, durch Dingliches noch verwirrten Träumen steht ein anderer, der ewige Traum, in dem sich das „andere Bewußtsein“ offenbart. Erstaunlich ist, daß Béguin wenig auf den eigentümlichen Umstand hinweist, daß gerade Troxlers dunkles und geheimnisvolles Weltgefühl sich in einem System ausspricht, dessen Rationalität kaum zu überbieten ist. Das dialektische Denken feiert Orgien, eine minutiösere Zuordnung der Begriffe, ein peinlicherer Aufbau ihrer Hierarchie ist kaum zu denken. Dennoch ist er viel konsequenter spirituell als *Schubert*, der mit seiner „Symbolik des Traums“ die Sprache des Unbewußten in die Sprache des Tages und seiner Vernunftgesetze

übersetzen möchte und dadurch von seinem metaphysischen Ansatzpunkt erstaunlich abrückt. Wenn er nämlich von dem ironischen Zug des Unbewußten redet (daß ein Traum von Schmutz Geld bedeutet), geht er an die nächtlichen Visionen fraglos mit rationalen Kategorien heran. Mehr als bei diesen beiden spielt bei *Carus* das Verhältnis von Bewußtsein und Unbewußtem eine Rolle. Gewiß, auch bei ihm trägt das Unbewußte den höheren Wertakzent. Erst mit dem frühesten Strahl des menschlichen Bewußtseins ist das Böse in die Welt gekommen, das Unbewußte des kosmischen Lebens kennt das Übel nicht, aber die Durchdringung der beiden Existenzsphären ist bei ihm natürlich und schärfer hervorgehoben als in Schuberts halb okkultistischen Versuchen oder gar in Troxlers beharrlicher Sicht auf den ewigen Traum.

Gleichzeitig und gleichen Sinnes mit den Naturphilosophen schaffen die Dichter. Schwer ist bisweilen die Unterscheidung. Denn wie man Novalis gut zu den Philosophen zählen könnte, so dürfte man Hamann oder Troxler ruhig ekstatische Sänger des Alls heißen. Sicher ist, daß allen die Dichtung das einzig Reale, das einzig Wahre bedeutet. Schon Schubert hatte die Dreieinigkeit von Traum, Prophetie und Dichtung verkündigt, und Novalis konnte sagen: „Die Poesie ist das absolut Reale. Je poetischer etwas ist, um so wahrer ist es.“ Poesie nämlich ist die Ursprache des Universums. So wie es sich als Bild in den Träumen offenbart, so offenbart es sich als wortgewordenes Bild in der Dichtung. Nicht der Dichter ist der Schöpfer: in ihm schafft der Weltgeist, der sich seiner bedient, um zu reden. Daher kommt der Stolz und das Martyrium der romantischen Dichter, das Gefühl höchster Erhabenheit und verzweifelter Zerknirschung, das wohl einmalig ist in der Seelengeschichte dichterischer Strömungen. Der Dichter stellt die Einheit des zerspaltenen Kosmos wieder her, er steigt in sich hinab und findet dort die Träume der Erlösung aus der tragischen Vereinzelung, er rettet die zerfallene Welt und führt sie durch sein Gedicht wieder zurück in den Zustand der seligen Einheit. Mit Bedacht durchschreitet Béguin den romantischen Himmel, und unmöglich scheint es, auch nur einen Begriff von der Weite und Kraft zu geben, mit der er das Strahlen der aufgereihten Sterne auffängt. Da malt *Jean Paul* in seinen gewaltigen Visionen das verlorene Paradies. Strenger und fast wissenschaftlich geprägt ist *Novalis'* Profil. Auch ihn beherrscht die wollüstige Sehnsucht nach dem Tod, auch er steigt tief hinein in das Dunkel der Nacht. Aber der Wille beherrscht seinen Weg, der Wille zur Verwandlung des Bewußten durch das Unbewußte. „Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt“, das ist sein Glaube und sein Ziel. Mit *Tieck* beginnt der wahre Schauer vor dem eigenen Dunkel: der Weg ins Unbewußte endet nicht mehr im Jean-Paulschen Paradies, sondern in den Höllen metaphysischer Angst. Daher Tiecks Hin und Her zwischen Nacht und Tag, daher der sorgsam gewählte Platz auf dem Berggipfel, von dem aus man beide Seiten menschlicher Existenz überschauen kann. *Arnim* verfällt den dämonischen Gewalten, über die Novalis noch zu

herrschen glaubte. Er fühlt sich unheimlich bedroht von den eignen Gestalten, preisgegeben dem Willen des unendlichen Schicksals. Bei *Brentano* bleibt die Nacht mit ihren Gesichtern nur Hintergrund und Landschaft für den dauernden Kampf zwischen Weltsehnsucht und Gottesfrieden, den er endlich nach langen Leiden erreicht. Bei *Hoffmann* endlich wird alle irdische Existenz zerschlagen, die Grenzen des Individuums sind eingerissen, alles Erdhafte ist verwandelt durch den ekstatischen Blick, der das Schreckliche und Erlösende hervorzaubert aus den Leidenschaften und Gesichtern der Oberwelt.

Nur als Stichworte, nur um den weiten Umkreis des Werkes anzuzeigen, seien diese Bemerkungen gemacht. Aber um die Breite der Anlage aufzuweisen, müssen Eichendorff, Kleist, Heine, Nodier, Hugo, Proust, Nerval, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud wenigstens mit ihren Namen hier noch aufgeführt werden. Dann erst ist der bloße Stoffkreis erschöpft. Aber trotz der weiten Ausführlichkeit vermissen wir manches in Béguins Unternehmen. Wir vermissen ganz den Namen Hauff, wir suchen vergeblich nach einer Beleuchtung Schleiermachers, wir bedauern auch, daß Fichte, die Schlegels und Schelling in einem Werk über die romantische Seele kaum zu Worte kommen. Vor allem Schelling scheint uns unerläßlich: seine Naturphilosophie ist klarer und reicher als die Lehrgebäude der andern Naturphilosophen, denen ein so breiter Raum zugestanden wird. Auch scheinen uns einige Angriffe gegen Sigmund Freud nicht gerechtfertigt und genügend begründet.

Man könnte auch daran zweifeln, daß die Romantik auf die Frage nach der „condition humaine“ wirklich eine gültige Antwort gibt. Man könnte – gegen Béguin – daran festhalten, daß sie sich im Individualistischen verfängt. Gewiß, das Individuum weitet sich zum Universum. Aber ist es nicht eine unendlich groß gewordene Monade ohne Fenster? Der Blick aufs „Du“ scheint uns versperrt, die Frage nach der Menschheit als Sozietät nicht gestellt. Die Romantik hört die Forderung nach außen nicht, sie hat kein moralisches Zentrum und kein Gesetz. Vielleicht daß sie gerade darum zusammenbrechen mußte und sich flüchtete in die klare Dogmenwelt des Katholizismus.

Diese Einwände, Einwände prinzipieller Natur, hindern nicht, anzuerkennen, daß Béguins Buch weder in deutscher noch in englischer Sprache ein Gegenstück hat. Nirgends ist mit so leidenschaftlichem Interesse, mit solch persönlicher Beteiligung die Frage nach der romantischen Seele gestellt worden. Nirgends ist das Wunder des Dichtertums so ehrfürchtig und eindringlich angerührt wie in diesem Buch. Mit seinem beispiellosen Materialwissen, seinen tiefen Einsichten, seiner hingebenden Liebe zur Poesie steht es einzig in der Gesamtliteratur über die Romantik, und es sollte ihm gewißlich mehr Beachtung zuteil werden, als das bisher der Fall war.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

M. C. MORRIS

State Teachers College, Valley City, N. Dak.

*"Do not weep; do not wax
indignant. Understand." — Spinoza.*

Politically and economically, socially and culturally, our country and its institutions today face a crisis which we tell ourselves has seldom, if ever, been equalled in the history of the world. What does this crisis mean to us as individuals, as citizens of a great democracy, and as members of the teaching profession? What is the real nature of the disaster with which we are threatened? What can we do meet it effectively, patriotically and conscientiously?

Most thinking people, I believe, realize that this crisis portends far more than a temporary political shake-up, or even serious economic disruption and social upheaval resulting from a real or remote threat of military aggression. They know that it reaches down to the core of our American way of life; that it jeopardizes, along with the most fundamental principles of democracy, our very existence as a liberty-loving people. For the "four freedoms," to which President Roosevelt repeatedly refers, are being assailed. But let us make no mistake: they are being assailed from within every bit as much as from without.

There is no doubt as to the seriousness of the moment. It is therefore pertinent to consider the present situation of academic freedom in general, and that of the teaching of foreign languages in particular. If, along with our other democratic institutions, the productiveness of this traditional freedom is to be preserved against the menace of totalitarian systems from abroad and fanatic emotionalisms at home, each one of us must do his part cooperatively and conscientiously. For the present crisis must pass, as have previous ones, and whether the outcome will be disastrous or triumphant for us as a free people will depend upon our ability and willingness to measure up to the present challenge.

Increasingly, we shall have to contend with certain hyper-emotionalisms, which constitute as serious a source of danger to academic freedom as any threat of foreign invasion. These are apt to reveal themselves most flagrantly in two extreme, equally deleterious forms. On the one hand, we shall be confronted with an excess of patriotic fervor which feeds on fiery catchwords and is bent on sweeping away before it whatever is reluctant to rush for a place on its bandwagon. On the other hand, we must face the insidious and equally narrow attitude of those who would take refuge in a cynical pose, which is often sardonically critical of attempts to maintain the very liberties which those same cynics are enjoying.

Translated into terms of our profession, these extremes correspond to two attitudes, encountered frequently enough in normal times, but espe-

cially prevalent in periods of crisis. The first derives most frequently from misinformed sources outside the profession. It is expressed in the tendency to regard all foreign language instruction as "suspect;" — in time of crisis even as potentially "unpatriotic." The second, equally unfortunate attitude manifests itself only too often within the profession. By means of a certain captious philistinism, it would sullenly attempt to defend the teaching of one particular language, while myopically refusing to admit the corresponding cultural significance of others.

In the face of the implied threat of such excesses, what steps can now be taken? First of all, for the sake of the integrity of our profession, I believe we must scrupulously avoid both of the extremes mentioned above. As Professor George R. Havens of Ohio State University has recently put it: "... We as foreign language teachers must endeavor to inform ourselves, not in order to conceal or condone, but to show our students what we have to learn and to avoid here in our own country."¹

If our country and the institutions which train its future citizens are effectively to combat the type of totalitarian domination which has recently been summed up as consisting of: "[1] political absolutism, [2] political orthodoxy — assent obtained by the forcible suppression of dissenting opinion, and [3] military imperialism,"² they cannot afford to begin by suppressing the freedom of thought, the independence of research, and the expression and interchange of opinion which they most ardently seek to defend. That way would lead us once more toward "making the world safe" — not for democracy, but for a new era of hatred, mistrust and suspicion. After quoting a definition of democracy as: "... an affirmation of certain attitudes and values which are more important than any particular set of institutions, because those attitudes and values must serve as the sensitive directing controls of institutional change," Professor Kingsley of Antioch College continues: "... If we are to preserve what we think we are preserving, the means selected must be harmonious with these underlying directive norms. There should be no mistake about that. It must be apparent in these days of protective custodies that attack often comes in the guise of defense."³ It is the old conflict between *ends* and *means*, which Aldous Huxley discussed so exhaustively a few years ago in his book of the same title. "For the means employed," he wrote, "inevitably determine the nature of the result achieved; whereas, however good the end aimed at may be, its goodness is powerless to counteract the effects of the bad means we use to reach it."⁴

Mere avoidance of extremes, however, is not enough. It is evident, too, that the principal defense of democratic institutions must lie in the consistent practice of aggressive democracy. This is axiomatic. President George F. Zook, of the American Council on Education, said not long

¹ *Modern Language Journal*, XXV, 4 (January, 1941) p. 310.

² Carl Becker, in *The Yale Review*, XXX, 3 (March, 1941) p. 441.

³ J. Donald Kingsley in *The Antioch Review*, I, 1 (Spring, 1941) 16 f.

⁴ A. L. Huxley, *Ends and Means*, N. Y., Harpers, 1937, p. 59.

ago: "... Short-sighted patriots may again try to banish from our schools certain languages. Perhaps individual language teachers may be subjected to unfair attack and criticism. Although we hope that we have learned much from the experiences of the last war, we must recognize and be ready to meet challenges that can undermine all that we have achieved."⁵ These words are echoed from an administrative angle by the following even more recent ones of President Clarence A. Dykstra, of the University of Wisconsin: "We shall hope . . . in the months to come to keep our heads and not let the tides of emotionalism sweep us off our feet. It is easy to be tempted into actions and programs of which we are none too proud when the high water goes down."⁶

Where must the responsibility rest for the realization of these hopes? Manifestly with broad-minded citizens, lawmakers and administrators, — but primarily with ourselves. For how can we expect these groups to support us if we succumb to inertia or become too cynical to support our own cause? We who believe that our academic freedom and the democracy which makes it possible are well worth defending, must see to it that we do not defeat our own ends by the use of inappropriate means. Patriotism, for most of us, goes deeper than the wearing of a lapel button. It involves confidence in a way of life based on freedom of opportunity, tolerance and good-will, as envisaged by the founders and builders of our country. It involves adherence to a long-range point of view and to a belief in the ultimate triumph and enduring values of humanistic education, which are so well set forth in the article by Professor Havens cited above, as well as in Professor Hans W. Rosenhaupt's excellent analysis which appeared in an earlier number of this journal.⁷ Adequate defense of true democracy involves far more than military preparation. "No one but a social illiterate," writes Professor Kingsley, "would suggest that the protection of a way of life is fundamentally a matter of guns and ships. The problems of defense are not resolved with the acquisition of material means . . ."⁸ When the present crisis has passed, there will be even more stupendous problems to be met than at the present time. It is to meet these problems intelligently and broad-mindedly, and to solve them more permanently than the post-war problems of 1918 were disposed of that we are training the present generation of college men and women. No nation can fight the world around it forever. Sooner or later, each must learn to live at peace with the others if it is to continue to exist. To prepare for an enduring peace is an even lengthier and more exacting process than to prepare for war. To appeal to the better nature which is to be found deep in every human being is infinitely more difficult in critical times than to inflame the hates and passions that lie nearer the surface. And yet we must begin now to think in terms of building defense along construc-

⁵ *Modern Language Journal* XXV, 4 (January, 1941) p. 269.

⁶ *The Badger Quarterly*, III, 3, (March, 1941).

⁷ *M. f. d. U.* XXXII, 5, (May, 1940), 205-216.

⁸ J. Donald Kingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

tive lines if the post-war peace, which the next generation will be called on to create, is to endure.

In making these statements, I am not hinting at the desirability of any policy of "appeasement," in the popular connotation of making cowardly concessions to systems or methods alien to our basic American beliefs and our democratic way of life. On the contrary, I am suggesting that in order to prepare in the immediate future for an enlightened policy commensurate to the great task of building to preclude the recurrence of the present world calamity, we cannot afford to neglect the very principles which have unified our country and made it great: toleration of minorities and freedom of thought and expression, as well as freedom from racial prejudices. For America is essentially a country created by the immigration of various racial groups, "... representing over fifty different national backgrounds, speaking as many languages and several hundred dialects, owing allegiance to over two score rulers and governments, and adhering to about a dozen different religions,"⁹ — a *Völkerwanderung* of tremendous magnitude over a comparatively brief period of time. I am afraid that some of us, who trace back our ancestry in this country two or three centuries, instead of two or three generations, are apt, in such times as these, to overlook the fact that many of the immigrants who found a refuge here from hate, prejudice, and absolutism in the countries of their birth have become our best and most ardently American citizens. The number of our present day leaders in government, literature, art, music, science, education, and many other fields of activity, is, of course, legion. This unity within diversity gives us a unique opportunity — and a great responsibility. As Louis Adamic has remarked:

"When this country was formed, there were people, Jefferson included, who believed that the hope of the world was here. They probably were right. But we must be careful. There is need of exerting our individual and collective intelligence. We have serious economic and social problems; as we proceed to try to solve them, we should watch out that prejudice and intolerance don't turn the American Dream into a Nightmare."¹⁰

If we can successfully solve the national problems of our own heterogeneous group, we should be better prepared to meet the international problems which will confront us. Personally, after having spent an aggregate of some five years of work, study and travel in Europe over a ten-year period, I am fully convinced that we, as a nation, can best enhance our position among other nations of the world by methods conforming with American traditions in the broadest sense: not merely pan-American, but pan-human as well. If we can pour billions of dollars into defense by armaments, we should also be able to provide more adequately than we are now doing for the not far distant time when it will take more

⁹ Louis Adamic, *From Many Lands*, N. Y., Harpers, 1939, 1940, p. 292.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

than guns and bombs to establish and successfully maintain our position among the other nations.

President Clarence A. Dykstra has recently emphasized that it is now that we must invoke the strength of our constitution; that we must "... defend freedom by using it and that it is as important to have democracy fight for the country as to have the country fight for democracy." And he continues:

"... It is easy to set up straw men to be attacked and bogie men to be suspected when we live at high tension. We succumb to fear in the face of 'isms,' so-called, instead of practicing the dynamics of democracy or invoking the strength of the constitution. What we need to remember is that we cannot abrogate moral responsibility or anesthetize freedom of conscience if we wish to be strong in purpose and faithful to our commitments as free men. We may well be in agreement on ends but at the same time differ widely on the means to be used. Let us cherish the opportunity to differ and to express these differences.

"Education is not served by junking its implications and imperatives. If we trust the educational purpose at all we must protect its processes. This is true national defense."¹¹

In this connection, I should like to recall the words of the Hon. Alfred A. Benesch, of the Cleveland Board of Education, who, after speaking of the tendency toward vocational overspecialization in this country, continued:

"We have failed to recognize that our security as a nation depends as much upon an educated citizenry as it does upon military and naval armament. We speak glibly of education for democracy without realizing the full import of that phrase, and without providing the teaching personnel qualified to give leadership in 'education for democracy.' We have failed to foster the cultural contacts between the peoples of the United States and those of other nations of the world — contacts that are more vitally essential in the present turmoil than ever before. And what more appropriate instrumentality for the promotion of these contacts can be conceived than the study of the modern languages?"¹²

Yet the fact that the teaching of modern foreign languages today is on trial has been the burden of numerous articles of late in our professional journals. It is not merely a matter of self-perpetuation. As a professional group, we have a particularly grave responsibility at the present time, one that involves a certain faith in our work and a confidence in its purposes; negatively stated, an absence of fear. Some months ago, a Professor of German publicly made the statement that if the teaching of his subject in this country were to be seriously threatened, he would not hesitate to switch to Spanish, although he admittedly knew little or nothing of that

¹¹ *The Badger Quarterly*, III, 3 (March, 1941).

¹² *Modern Language Journal*, XXV, 4 (January, 1941) p. 275 f.

language. I do not know how many years he had spent in preparing himself for his chosen work, but to me such a statement, far from being "realistic," was alarming, ominous, and not a little shocking. Not so much on account of the situation itself, — which it is conceivable that many of us may be called upon to face, — but rather because his attitude seemed an unthinking betrayal of his own profession. For such an attitude would not only be a blow to the morale of the one *Fach*; it would definitely and unfairly lower the standard of the other.

The League of Nations collapsed, not — as some would have us believe — because of any inherent weakness in the principles upon which it was founded, but rather because of the betrayal of those principles on the part of individual nations which saw fit to misuse its machinery in order to achieve selfish nationalistic or imperialistic ends.

I believe that, as individuals, as a profession, or as a nation, we cannot afford to misuse the opportunities of the freedom we enjoy, nor, for purely personal ends, have recourse to the *u nass — u neekh* principle of detracting from another's prestige in order to enhance one's own. In the long run, the diametrically opposite result is usually achieved. Each of us needs all the support the other can give, particularly in times of stress. For if we are all working toward the same general goal, each one of us must certainly have the welfare of others beside himself at heart. To know all may not necessarily be to understand all, but understanding helps us to know others, and ourselves as well. With us and with our colleagues in the humanities rests to a large extent the responsibility of determining whether the new order — whatever that may be — which will emerge from the present chaos will be but a truce in the perpetuation of outworn enmities and prejudices, or whether it will lead to something positive, constructive, and, above all, lasting. In the end, it is a matter of individual integrity, multiplied by millions. "Do not be afraid. Death is not your enemy. Your only enemy is a bad conscience. Chase it out! Root it out! Cut off its source of nourishment. And feed all the forces which carry you out beyond yourself . . ." ¹³

If we realize that the crisis of foreign language teaching is also, in a larger sense, that of democracy, a reaffirmation of faith in both is incumbent on each of us. And that does not mean mere lip-service given with a secret and pious hope that somehow authorities will permit us to continue undisturbed our accustomed round of lectures or research. Not all of us, in the present crisis, can carry guns. We can and must perform constructive patriotic service by educating for an intelligent, balanced citizenship which will help to render less probable future recurrence of the brutal carnage and the inhuman tyrannies of the immediate present. In our lectures we can stress the enduring values of humanism; true democracy is but the application of some of the highest ideals of our profession. By our research, and through scholarly and professional jour-

¹³ Carl Zuckmayer, *Second Wind*, N. Y., Doubleday Doran, 1940, p. 288.

nals such as this, we can and must keep open the channels of thought and of free expression of opinion so vital to the proper functioning of a truly democratic system, and, in a larger sense, to the interchange of opinion among thinking people everywhere, regardless of race or nationality.

Until we do these things, we cannot cry that we are the only underprivileged class within the academic profession. If we do them conscientiously, taking our part in the development of what we profess to believe, then it will be up to intelligent and enlightened administrators to recognize that the teaching of foreign languages is an integral part of the democratic process; it will be up to them to see to it that German and French, Polish and Italian, Russian and Japanese continue to be taught in the colleges and universities of our country.

BERICHTE UND MITTEILUNGEN

SUMMER SESSION, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The Summer Session of the University of Wisconsin will open on July first. The general session for undergraduate and graduate students continues for six weeks, ending on August eighth. The special courses for graduates, formerly nine weeks in length, now eight, will begin on July first and close on August twenty-second.

Staff members in German are: Professors Bruns, Purin, Twaddell (chairman); Instructor: Riegel. Some of the major courses offered: Drama of the 19th and 20th century, Keller, Deutsches Volkstum, Goethe, Literary seminar (Kleist), Gothic.

The German House

The German House of the University of Wisconsin, carried on under the auspices of the Department of German as a house for women students, offers unusual opportunity to students interested in the study of German. Residence at the House has invariably proved of great benefit to prospective teachers as well as to others desirous of perfecting themselves in the conversational use of German.

The German House is situated at 508 North Frances Street, a few minutes' walk from the Library and the rest of the university buildings, just off the State street bus line, two blocks from the lake, and within a short distance of the business section of the city. The rooms are comfortable and attractive. An advance deposit of \$10 is required as a reservation fee which is applied on the room rent.

Rates have been adjusted for the summer session to meet prices set by the University. Room and board per person for six weeks in double rooms \$55.00 and \$56.00, single rooms \$55.00 to \$65.00.

Those wishing to engage rooms for 8 weeks may arrange to do so.

Board is \$6.50 a week. Men as well as women students not living at the House may take meals there — either single meals or full board.

For further particulars address: The German House, 508 N. Frances Street, Madison, Wisconsin.

THE GERMAN SCHOOL OF MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

This summer, the German School of Middlebury College, ideally located in the small village of Bristol, Vermont, at the foot of the Green Mountains, will hold its eleventh session after its reopening after the first World War in 1931. The session will open on July 1 and continue until August 15. It is designed primarily for advanced students of German who, possessing a fair speaking and reading knowledge of the language, wish to perfect their speaking ability and study German literature, civilization, and phonetics in a German atmosphere. The language requirement — the exclusive use of the German language during the session — will bring the student in contact with German not only in the classroom, but also in the dining hall, at picnics, hikes, sports, and during all other activities of the School. Courses carry credit toward the degree of Master of Arts and Doctor of Modern Languages.

The following courses are scheduled for the 1941 session: The History of the German Theatre, The Classical Period, History of the German Novelle, A Survey of the German Drama, Modern Fiction: Thomas Mann, History of German Art, Historical Survey of the German Language, Practical Phonetics, The Teaching of German and five different courses in Language Practice.

For detailed information address: Language School Office, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont.

BÜCHERBESPRECHUNGEN

Functional German Grammar,
by *Meno Spann and Fred L. Fehling*, State
University of Iowa. Illustrated by *James
McConnell*. Harper & Brothers, 1940, x,
339 pp. Price \$1.60.

Encouraged by the favorable reaction to his Interlinear German Readers (1937 and 1938), Dr. Spann, with the collaboration of his colleague, has now applied the interlinear method to the learning of elementary German grammar.

By the shades of James Hamilton — *Tempora mutantur!* The pony that formerly had to trot surreptitiously in literal jargon, and functioned in private for a few students leaning on a crib, has at last openly become the functional cynosure of both teacher and student. We have before us, in other words, a revival of the Hamiltonian method of a century ago, as

a force in the "Wave of the Future" that merits serious consideration, however diverse the attitude of individual teachers toward it may be.

The book has three outstanding characteristics that differentiate it from all its predecessors: interlineation, "Previews", and individualistic humor. Yet none of these, nor any combination of them, is really essential to the attainment of the book's prime purpose: "developing facility in spoken German." If the same stress were laid upon oral work and the student were obliged to "read aloud every German word" in many another elementary book, as he "must" do "in this book," and if he were required to read every reading selection in many another elementary book until he could "*undertand the German without translating into English*"; and if he actually read aloud all the ex-

ercises and "learned by heart" all the paradigms and all the sentences illustrative of "grammatical principles" — called "speech patterns" in this book — and learned the words in the lesson vocabularies "from German to English AND from English to German," in many another elementary book, he would likely be equally successful in "developing facility in spoken German."

To insure a good pronunciation, the entire first lesson (17 pages) is devoted to the production of German speech sounds; and to facilitate the process "a transcription into the closest English sound" is printed under each German word of the anecdotes used as practice material — "merely an aid" — for the authors admit: "Only by imitating your instructor as closely as possible can you achieve the best results."

In order not to add to the difficulty of learning strange sound values by using strange symbols, only Roman type is employed in the first lesson. In *Aufgabe zwei* the "German print" is introduced; first, by printing English in German type; second, by printing with interlineal Roman type several short anecdotes of Lesson I; and finally, the last two (longer) anecdotes are printed without interlining.

In *Aufgabe drei*, which begins the study of grammar, every word of the reading text is interlineated; and in the succeeding lessons, theoretically at least, all words are translated interlinearly the first time they appear or are repeated with a new meaning. There are a few oversights in addition to the words which are translated in the *Wortliste* of the lesson, and words intended for "intelligent guessing" (x), e. g., (a) upon first appearance: *aus*, *Ach so*, *bin*, *dann* (25); *zurück* (34); *Hand* (52; cf. 57); *blinken* (71); *drei Tage lang* (for) (78); *schützt vor* (from) (79); *zu*, with (105:2); and (b) occurring with a new meaning: *bringen*, take (32); *aber*, but (33). The following corrections in interlinear translations are suggested: *Guten Tag*, How are you? (4) (*Good day* is not American); *keinen*, none (43); *springt*, hastens (53); *sich*, him (156:8); *nahmen* . . . *auf*, took into the home (201); *seit Jahrhunderten*, for centuries (213); *herumfährt*, has been sailing about (213); *Herzogin*, duchess (216), *Herzog*, duke (248), *Landgraf*, landgrave (241) — not "princess" and "count"!

Interlinear translation is a great boon to the author, in allowing him to offer, from the very beginning, fluent idiomatic

reading material, with the free use of forms and constructions in advance of their presentation in the grammar study. There are in this book, prior to the lessons in which these principles are discussed, at least 150 clauses with inverted order caused by introductory adverbial elements, and some 15 due to the precedence of subordinate clauses; likewise, about 125 subordinate clauses, of which 50 are relative clauses and 75 are introduced by subordinating conjunctions; also some 70 dependent infinitives, 60 separable verbs (most of them actually "separated"), and 20 subjunctive clauses; also purpose clauses, imperatives, questions, negations, and reflexive verbs. Similar freedom is exercised in the use of tense forms, namely: some 70 verbs in the past tense, 25 in the present perfect, 5 in the future, and 3 in the past perfect. Whether this freedom is as great a boon to the student is open to question. Why is it better to be "on speaking terms with a given form long before you deal with it systematically" (ix), than to get on speaking terms with a form or construction after one has studied and understands it?

The strangest feature of the interlining is the apparent lack of system; for instance, *aber*, which occurs 55 times before p. 220, is interlined the tenth time on that page (the fifth time after it was placed in the *Wortliste* on p. 117, to be memorized). There are many similar examples, though perhaps not so extreme, including common words like *und*, *zeigen*, *Stadt*, *jung*, and *sagen*.

One of the greatest pedagogical faults in the interlineation of this book is the necessity of reading constantly two or three lines as a unit, with both the lines of print and the words in the lines spaced far apart, the second line being badly broken up and the third still more irregular. This causes confusion in following the lines, resulting in eye strain and mental fatigue, and making it very difficult at times to gain a clear image of the thought. A great improvement would be the use of smaller type for the interlineation, like that used in the *Interlinear Readers*. Further, where the number of new words is no longer so large, they might be printed in the margin or at the foot of the page. But above all, the texts should be printed solid, like p. 24, either in groups covered by the "previews", or in pamphlet form to accompany the grammar.

No one objects to healthy humor, and most of the humor in text, grammar, and exercises is clever, often displaying original genius. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the authors could not refrain from making practice sentences in which people are called *Dummköpfe*, *Idiot*, *Kamel*, *Ochse*, *Schweine*, and *Säue*; nor from illustrating syntax, as in Pattern 24 (to be committed to memory!), with such sentences as "*Die Fliege schwimmt in der Suppe. Die Fliege fällt in die Suppe.*" Even worse is the following illustration on the same page: "A ship may sail *in* a storm or *into* a storm. If it's sailing *into* a storm, it's a headache for the captain; if it's sailing *in* a storm, it's a headache for everybody." Which clearly illustrates — nothing grammatical!

Similar forced humor is used in teaching pronunciation, as on p. 3: "r is trilled. Imitate a motor by fluttering the tip of your tongue. Better still, imitate your instructor." Or on p. 6: "spricht . . . ch here is pronounced like the hiss of a cat." That ö, ü, and long o require "the whistling position of the lips" is not so inept, but the warning not to close the *jaws*, as in pronouncing English *gay* and *hoe*, when pronouncing German long e and o, is a joke only if meant seriously.

But humor aside, the statement that "Vowels followed by two or more consonants are short, *except in compound words*" (3) needs further explanation; and it should be noted that h after a vowel does not "make" that vowel long (4). In spite of their insistence upon a correct pronunciation, the authors failed to point out the significance of B and double long s between vowels (22).

The illustrations, largely of the comic strip variety, do even more than the coarse jokes to rob the book of dignity; at least 12 of them have neither artistic nor illustrative merit. The full-page Napoleon, the Merchant, even if there is any significance in making him into a left-handed butcher about to dispatch a poor fish with his huge cleaver, is an absurd waste of space to illustrate one extraneous sentence. But the climax of purposeless vulgarity and pedagogical inanity is reached on page 21. How in the world could any one conceive, execute, and approve such an atrocious, misshapen, brainless nude, simply because he can not distinguish between long s and f on the bare backs of two almost equally nude females! The drawing on p. 66 provides excellent opportunities for illustrating the

use of prepositions, for which it was also intended; but none of the German words for the creatures and objects depicted has been furnished.

There is apparent a tendency to avoid standard grammar terminology; thus the adjective declensions are defined as the "adjective preceded by *der-* or *ein-* words," and as the "unprecedented adjective." In place of the conditional there are the auxiliaries *should* and *would*; the adhortative subjunctive is the "subjunctive of command"; the optative subjunctive is the "If only . . ." subjunctive and the subjunctive of "formal phrases." The *ein-*words used as pronouns are simply expressions meaning *mine*, *yours*, *hers*, etc.; and the indefinite relatives are *wer* "in the sense of *whoever* or *he who*" and *was* "in the meaning of 'that which'." The term *Umlaut* is not used in teaching pronunciation in the first lesson, but it is applied to the formation of noun plurals, in *Aufgabe neun*, without any explanation of the phenomenon. On the other hand, the less common term *Ablaut* is explained and freely used, as is also the very rare *Knacklaut* (19) and even the innovation "*Die Zange*" (227).

Some of the grammatical principles should be more accurately defined, e.g.: "*nach* is used in expressions like *to Berlin*" (61); "Idiomatic Use of the Genitive in Time Formulas" (81, D); "Nouns of measure are given (*sic*) in the singular" (148); "*sondern* always means *but rather*" (no mention of preceding negative) (227); "the genitive plural demonstrative uses the form *derer*" (280); "Omission of *ein* is idiomatic: *Er ist Arzt*" (269); "the following words" (289); "*es* is sometimes used as an extra subject" (295).

Erroneous statements are made on pp. 90 and 91 regarding the membership of Classes II, III, and IV of nouns, overlooking entirely the well-known endings *-ich*, *-ig*, *-ing*, *-ling*; *-kunst*, *-nis*, *-sal* in II; *-tum* in III; and *-ei*, *-heit*, *-keit*, *-schaft*; also *-ie*, *-ik*, *-ion*, *-ität* in IV. The statement that in verbs of Class VII "the past is always *ie*" (182) overlooks *fi* and *hing*. The *wo-* compounds are incorrectly accented on the first syllable instead of the second (206); and the Note to Pattern 57 does not always apply; e.g., *Er macht es damit* (with that).

Peculiar statements: explaining the diminutive suffixes by the English *-ie* and ignoring the cognate *-kin* (27-28); "the *-en* of the infinitive ending" (34). Why

omit *ins* in 67 (b)? Why render *Land* as *country* (57) and spoil the rime? The outstanding oddity of the book, however, is the absolutely gratuitous explanation of the psychology underlying "The Dative of Relation" (284); following the line of reasoning consistently, one must conclude that *Tasche* is not regarded as an inanimate object by the Germans in the sentence *Was hat er in der Tasche?*

Among the grammar principles used but not explained are: the relative position of direct and indirect objects, and of adverbs and objects; inverted order after direct quotations; dependent (and inverted) order in exclamations; proper adjectives ending in *isch* and *-er*; the present tense to express an act begun in the past and still continuing in the present (correctly translated on p. 56, but not on p. 213; and nowhere explained); apposition after nouns of measure, etc. (*ein Stück Papier*); accusative of definite time and duration of time.

There are, on the other hand, many features of grammar which are especially well presented, e.g.: verb endings (35), comparison of endings of *der-* and *ein-* words (45); adjective forms (48, 59, 80), adjective declensions (114-116) — notably Pattern 35, which is incomparably ingenious; position of adverbs (125); inverted order (167-8), separable prefixes (234-6) — including the cartoons; subjunctive forms (261-3), which would be improved, however, if the present indicative and subjunctive of *sehen* were added on p. 263.

Übungen. The exercises are, on the whole, excellent: adequate in scope, variety, and quantity. The awkward, exaggerated participial constructions (220:13 and 229, D, 4, 7), however, are out of place in an elementary book, especially in one that does all exercises orally; for such stilted, bookish *incubi* are not conversational phrases. *Fragen* are added to the four "Previews" only (10-12 each), which is adequate, since the entire book is to be done orally, and this also explains the comparatively small number of sentences to be translated from English into German (87 sentences and 17 phrases). There may have been more originally; at all events, 30 words in the English-German Vocabulary (333-335) are now superfluous.

The German-English Vocabulary (313-332) (abbr. G-E-V) seems to have been compiled with utter disregard for accuracy and completeness. At least 95

words (17 of which are compound verbs) have been overlooked; 70 words which occur in the *Wortlisten* (abbr. WL) are not starred; on the other hand, a few of the starred words are not in any WL. Some 250 entries lack meanings used in either the interlineation or in the WL or both, e.g.: *kämpfen*, battle (57); *Kampf*, contest (139); *schwer*, hard (139); *böse*, wicked (200) and bad (209); *Mensch*, people (56, 96), person (78), and man (94); *schreien*, cry (64), shriek (196), scream and shout (298). There are about 100 words occurring with only one meaning, yet an entirely different translation is given in the G-E-V, e.g.: *Erinnerung*, remembrance (171), memory; *vernichten*, destroy (130), annihilate; *Trauer*, grief (202), mourning; *Magd*, maid (231), hired girl. Further, a comparison of the verb list (298-311) with the G-E-V revealed the fact that the meanings of 40 verbs do not tally, and in addition 14 verbs in the list are not included in the G-E-V. In the foreward, "How to use this book," the student is advised to "page through the general vocabulary, from time to time," to see how many words he can identify and use. In the light of the situation revealed above, when he repeatedly fails to find meanings that he has learned and, on the other hand, finds only meanings that he has never seen, he may wonder whether the joke is on him or on the authors.

Minor errors noted in the G-E-V are: plural not indicated for 17 nouns, 6 non-existent plurals given; accent omitted from 6 words and failure to show the shift of accent in the plural of 4; genitive of *Frankreich* omitted. The following misprints occur: wrong font for final *e* of *Adresse* and for the plural sign of *Kunststadt* and *Sau*, superfluous umlaut in plural of *Apfelstück*; failure to indicate the change to double long *s* in the genitive singular and the plural of *Fluß*, *Gefängnis*, *Paß*, *Schuß*, *Diskus*, and *Zirkus*; also the misspellings: *Erlösungsmotif*, *Herren* (gen. sing.), and *pfeiffen*. There is, further, an unnecessary hyphen after *Eltern* and *die Vereinigten Staaten*. Wrong meanings are given for the following: *nabe bei*, *Pfennig*, *Photographie* (cf. 210), *Reich*, *Taler*.

Faulty and incorrect idiom (suggested correction given in parentheses): *Auf beiden Seiten . . . Küsten* (Rechts und links . . . der engl. u. der franz. Küste) (71); *als* (die) *amerikanischen Gesichter* (73, 84); *Sage einfach* (zu) *dem* (104);

Du bist viel zu dünn (mager) (119; cf. also 120:20; 174-8); *In der Mitternacht* (mitternachts) (141); *Von woher* (Woher) (158); *Dafür . . . zur Universität geschickt* (Dazu . . . auf die U.) (209) *hineintritt* (hereintritt) (233:8); *hat man . . . gerne gemocht* (gern gesehen or gehört) (247). Also "to call (bring) them to your attention" (194). Incorrect translation: *Ich habe ihm mein Pferd gelassen* (let him have) (190); *schläft wie ein Sack* (top) (15).

Spelling. Adjectives in proper names need capitals: *atlantisch* (70, 115, 227), *englisch* (71:5), *alt* (im Alten Testament) (102), *römisch* (131), *heiligen römischen* (150), *gut* (Kap der Guten Hoffnung) (213, 231), *jüngst* (233; 328, cf. *Tag*); also the noun *achtel* (148). RM must have a period when in German type (12, passim); the correct plural is *Dollars* (271); German clock time uses a period, not a colon (146). The following should be compounded: *Abschied Nehmen* (72), various forms of *liebhaben* (152, 160; 168, 170, 323; 224), *Jahre lang* (jahrelang) (215), *Zeit lang* (220, 230), and all numerals in words (137-142). Words incorrectly compounded should be written as follows: *Sonnabend morgen* (83), *drei Viertel* (146), *Wagner-Opern* (240); also *every one* (73, 94), *some one* (132, passim), *any one* (216).

Misprints: Articles (v); B, 3 (109) should be on a par with B; incorrect accent on *unbesorgt* (152, 329); accent omitted on *wieviel*, *Paket* (126); *Propheten* (135); *Berlin* (147; *dramatisch*, *phantastisches* (221); *Musik* (222). Alignment is bad (130:1); the space too wide after the comma in 50, 48 (141) and 3, 280 (145), also in 100 000 (142), and Sie's (247); whereas the first digit of the numbers should be spaced (144, 151-2). By *vocabulary* (195) is meant the verb list (298 ff). The "irregular" present forms of 16 verbs in Class IV are missing (303-4); *fortfahren* (continue) requires *haben* (306-7). A comma is needed after 29 (140, last line), and an exclamation point after *helfen* (153, last line). Plural signs omitted: *Schuld* (256), *Geschichte* (269), *Bahn* (276).

Punctuation. Only the comma is mentioned, but not before p. 222 (to set off dependent clauses), although relative clauses are the topic of the preceding lesson and commas are needed in English-German translation on pp. 102, 128, 210. The discussion of coordinating conjunctions (226) ignores punctuation, hence in

the model sentence in Pattern 59 *aber* is not preceded by a comma. (Other instances are on pp. 102, 127, 160, 249, 257.) Finally, in the Appendix (291), the comma is prescribed before *und* and *oder* when introducing a clause with a *new* subject and a *new* verb (which is a *new* rule), hence in the illustrative model two necessary commas are omitted. Other incorrect omissions are: before 21 complete clauses introduced by *und*, 2 by *als* (70, 119), and one by *wie* (296); also after a subordinate clause (202:8). The commas should be deleted before *und* (139, 231, 233) and before *oder* 16, 24) followed by incomplete clauses, also before *fortzugehen* (212) and before *und* connecting two *daß*-clauses (233) and two relative clauses (274). A comma, not a colon, should be used after *antwortete* (273) introducing the indirect statement.

The Subjunctive. The unique brevity and simplicity of the treatment of indirect discourse (*Aufgabe* 24) is equalled only by its utter inadequacy for anything beyond the simple exercises which illustrate it. Moreover, it is based upon a false premise (274, B. Note), leaving out of consideration the basic distinctions of tense, person, connotation of the reporting verb, authority for and nature of the indirect statement, and sectional preference. What explanation would the authors give a bright, observing student if he asked why two of the indirect statements in the subjunctive lessons are in the indicative (259:4, 275:5), and furthermore, if he should discover the fact that 61 of the 62 indirect statements written by the authors in the preceding lessons use the indicative. The only subjunctive clause occurs 187:3, although several others could and perhaps should be in the subjunctive, one absolutely (217:2).

Appendix. Unlike the customary appendix, this one does not review paradigms, etc., of the preceding lessons, but offers additional, largely more advanced, material. The authors caution against taking up this supplement before the completion of the lessons (x); yet they offer no suggestions for its later use nor any reason why they themselves referred the student, in the *Aufgaben*, to six of the 16 supplements.

Index. A perfunctory compilation which omits important topics and details.

Conclusion. In spite of the unusually large number of errors and minor defects, which will probably not be noticed by the students nor, unfortunately, by most

teachers, the book is being used with enthusiasm and apparent success. Its comparative effectiveness in laying a solid foundation for advanced work is yet to be revealed. The errors can be corrected, perhaps the book can be made more dignified without impairing its individuality; but whether that is done or not, *to interline, or not to interline: that is the question*; and upon the answer to that question will depend the ultimate success or failure of the book.

—John L. Kind

University of Tennessee.

Vom Wort und Gedanken der Arbeit bei Goethe,

Rainer Weinrich. *Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Abt. Neuere Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, Band 20. Junker und Dünnhaupt, Berlin 1939. 150 Seiten.*

Dieser bewußt und betont „einseitigen“ Arbeit schickt der Verfasser folgende allgemeine Betrachtungen voraus: Zeiten der Umstellung sind besonders schwer, aber auch die „alten Bindungen“ haben stets die Erfüllung der Pflicht und der Arbeit gefordert. „Da wir wissen, daß sie gefordert werden, braucht uns weniger zu kümmern, *wer* sie fordert! Finden wir uns dann doch am Ende in einer Bindung, die Gottes ist.“ In diesem Sinne kommt vornehmste Bejahung der Arbeit von Goethe, einem der „Großen und Reinen“.

Weinrich geht zunächst aus von der Behauptung, daß man den Arbeitsgedanken bei Goethe bisher eigentlich nur im Zusammenhang mit seiner „bewußten Gestaltung“ im *Faust* und *Wilhelm Meister* gewürdigt habe. Dieser Gedanke sei aber „ein Herzgedanke des Menschen und Dichters Goethe“, der alle seine Schöpfungen, auch die kleinen und kleinsten, durchwalte. Das darzutun, soll der Arbeitsgedanke unter Voraussetzung des *Faust* und *Meister* im Werke des Dichters „abgelesen“ werden.

In einem einleitenden Abschnitt, „Arbeit: Wort, Ausdruck und Gegenstand“, werden die Wörter „Tätigkeit“, „Arbeit“ und „Tat“ auf ihren Gedanken- und Gefühlsgehalt im Goetheschen Sprachgebrauch untersucht. An Hand von Zitaten aus den verschiedensten Schöpfungen des Dichters wird seine „umfassende Kenntnis der Bereiche der Arbeit und seine liebevolle Aufgeschlossenheit allen ihren Wirklichkeiten gegenüber“ dargetan.

Dem Abschnitt „Arbeit und Sein“ steht

der den Paralipomenen der Naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften entnommene Satz: „Das Sein ist Tätigkeit“ voran. Dieser Teil der Untersuchung soll zeigen, daß für Goethe das menschliche Leben gleichbedeutend ist mit Arbeit, und bringt daran anschließend die bekannten Goetheschen Vorstellungen der Unsterblichkeit auf Basis der entelechischen Monade, die sich in rastloser Tätigkeit erhält.

Im dritten Abschnitt, „Trieb, Verstand und Arbeit“, der die „für Goethe geltenden Quellgründe menschlichen Tuns“ aufdecken soll, sucht Weinrich unter starker Betonung der sich auf das „Dämonische“ beziehenden Vorstellungen des Dichters zu zeigen, daß für Goethe „alles irdische Tun ein Getan- und Gestoßen- und Getriebenwerden“ sei: die menschliche Arbeit ist von Gott ursächlich bestimmt, der Verstand dient nur als Mittel zum jeweiligen Zweck, ist ein „Hinzutun des Menschen zum Gegebenen Gottes“.

Daran anknüpfend erblickt der folgende Teil, „Vom Ziel der Arbeit“, in der Beschränkung und Einfügung des Einzelnen ins Ganze zum Nutzen der Gemeinschaft das für Goethe primäre und zunächst gegebene Ziel. Letzten Endes aber ist die menschliche Arbeit für Goethe im besten Sinne „ziellos“, weil „gottbestimmt“. Sie mündet in Gott im Sinne von „Wer immer strebend sich bemüht“ und „alles Drängen, alles Ringen ist ew'ge Ruh in Gott dem Herrn“.

Daß diese Deutung, so berechtigt sie im einzelnen auch sein mag, in Hinsicht auf Goethes Weltanschauung als Ganzes eine „einseitige“ ist, wird wohl niemand ernstlich in Frage stellen. Denn trotz der gewiß stattlichen Anzahl schwerwiegender Belege, die Weinrich zur Begründung seiner Auslegung anführt, hat man den unangenehmen Eindruck, daß er alles, was irgendwie ein Lob der Arbeit und Tat enthält, auffahren läßt, um so schließlich mit Goethes Segen „Arbeit“ zum *summum bonum* zu verabsolutieren. Daß es ihm vor allem daran liegt, erhellt besonders aus dem letzten Abschnitt: „Der Gedanke der Arbeit in Goethes Werk“, wo das Lob der Arbeit aus den einzelnen Werken herausgelesen wird, und Weinrich u. a. auch auf die *Pandora* zu sprechen kommt. Sich auf die von Günther Müller vertretene Ansicht berufend, daß „es . . . die besondere Geistigkeit einer Epoche ausmache, daß sie aus der Seinsfülle gerade diese und jene Möglichkeiten des Menschseins erwähle, während sie an-

dere völlig außer Acht lasse," folgert Weinrich (S. 133 f.): „Es macht die besondere Geistigkeit einer Jugend oder eines Teils dieser Jugend aus, daß sie von der Seinsfülle eines Dichters gerade diese und jene Wesenheiten preist und sich zuzueignen sucht, während sie andere kaum oder nur feststellend und ohne Anteilnahme sieht.“ Die Einseitigkeit des eingeschlagenen Verfahrens nochmals betonend, heißt es dann weiter: „Es ist unsere Beschränkung, daß wir in Goethe den Pandorischen Prometheus beschwören und von dessen unzerreißbarem Bund mit Epimetheus nur teilnahmlose Kenntnis nehmen.“ Und zu guter Letzt muß Goethe selbst noch zur Rechtfertigung dieser sonderbaren „Beschränkung“ herhalten: „Dieser notwendigen und beschränkenden Sünde wissenschaftlichen Bemühens (!) machte auch ein Goethe sich schuldig: „Und doch behandelt jeder die Wissenschaft nach seinem Charakter“; – „So nahm ich auf, was mir gemäß war, lehnte ab, was mich störte und . . . belehrt“ . . . mich auf eine eigene Weise, ohne mich nach irgendetwas Gegebenem oder Herkömmlichem zu richten.“ Auf diese Bemerkungen hin bleibt dann die „Problematik des Pandora-Werkes dahingestellt.“ Es ist für Weinrich „rein und lauter ein hohes Lied der menschlichen Arbeit.“ Aber gerade bei dieser überaus feinen und tiefsymbolischen Dichtung, in der nach des Dichters unausgeführtem Plan *vita activa* und *vita contemplativa* im „ewig Guten, ewig Schönen“ zu höherer Synthese vereinigt werden sollten, hat die fast schroffe Ablehnung aller der „Wesenheiten des Goetheschen Menschen . . . , deren Kräfte in der Goetheschen Kontemplation beruhen“ etwas Unerträgliches. Daß Weinrich bei so manchem feinen Einblick in die Gedankenwelt des Dichters und bei vollem Wissen um die übrigen „Wesenheiten des Goetheschen Menschen“ sich diesen, aus der „besonderen Geistigkeit einer Epoche“ heraus, so standhaft verschließen zu müssen glaubt, ist sehr zu bedauern. Ist doch des Dichters Weltanschauung – und darauf allein kommt es an – nichts weniger als „einseitig“. Fordert er doch immer wieder die „Totalität“, den steigenden Ausgleich des tätigen und des beschaulichen Lebens, des Realen und des Idealen. So wenig Goethe in seiner eigenen, überwiegend metaphysisch-spekulativen Zeit dem beschaulichen Leben eine eigengesetzlich-absolute Existenz einräumen mochte, so wenig würde er in unserer, in

einer „besonderen Geistigkeit“ einseitig befangenen Epoche dem tätigen Leben eine solche Existenz zuerkennen wollen, denn: „Unbedingte Tätigkeit, von welcher Art sie sei, macht zuletzt bankrott.“

–H. J. Meessen

University of Minnesota.

Mark Twain in Germany,

by Edgar H. Hemminghaus. *Columbia University Germanic Studies, No. 9.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1939. ix & 170 pp., \$2.25.

After a half-dozen or more briefer studies, some of them provocative enough but always too definitely limited, here at last is a comprehensive treatment of the vogue of Mark Twain in Germany. Professor Hemminghaus surveys the whole of Mark Twain's reception in Germany from 1774 to 1837.

As a model study of an author's vogue in a foreign country, it is hard to see how the method adopted and executed could be improved. Proceeding strictly chronologically, the author presents data of the publication of Mark Twain's writings (in translation and in the original), together with salient facts concerning publishers and circumstances attending translation, printing, and circulation. Significant reviews are summarized and analyzed, often very shrewdly – always illuminatingly, not only for the light they shed on Clemens' vogue, but often for the comment they make upon the state of German criticism, the general literary feeling, and inter-racial consciousness. The study thus becomes one of interest quite as much for the student of German literature as for the student of American letters. That is to say, it illustrates what the story of comparative literature is, or ought to be.

Several significant German appraisals of Mark Twain are considered at some length—notably Professor Schoenemann's significant analysis of *Mark Twain als literarische Persönlichkeit* (Jena, 1925). In these appraisals Professor Hemminghaus contents himself rather too much with being neutrally analytical. A somewhat greater effort at judicial criticism would not have been amiss. However, this omission seems not to detract materially from the worth of the study as a whole, for the author is especially adroit at seeing implications, indicating connections, and pointing out tendencies, together with their sources, which a less alert student

might well have overlooked. None but the superficial reader will fail to note the significance of the facts presented for both the study of Mark Twain and his reception in Germany, as well as for the interplay of cultural forces between Germany and America during the sixty-odd years treated.

Three appendices add measurably to the worth of the book. These bring, chronological lists of German publications of Mark Twain's books in translation, in English, and in school-text editions. A bibliography of books and articles used by the author and an index are supplied.

On the basis of such scant information as could be secured (for data concerning the publication and circulation of books appears to be as difficult to secure for Germany as for America), Professor Hemminghaus estimates that well over a million volumes of Mark Twain's works sold in Germany between 1874 and 1937. In the early twenties Mark Twain won a popularity unheard of in Germany for a foreign author, but since 1929 a gradual decline in the sale of his books has been noticeable, and since 1933 the falling-off has been most decidedly marked. Mr. Hemminghaus notes several attempts to identify Mark Twain as a Jewish author, but does not hazard an opinion on how far this effort may have accelerated the decline of Mark Twain's vogue. He does, however, attribute something to the obviously antagonistic *Weltanschauung* of Mark Twain's to current Nazi philosophy, and observes that if the centenary (1935) of Clemens' birth had been marked by the publication of a centenary edition, its sales would doubtless have been disappointing, for he finds no evidence of any wide-spread demand for Mark Twain in National Socialist Germany.

—Henry A. Pochmann

University of Wisconsin.

Maske und Gesicht in den Werken Conrad Ferdinand Meyers,

Clara Klee Bang. (*Hesperia* No. 20) Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940, XII + 190 Seiten, Leinwand \$2.00.

Man muß die Verfasserin wie auch den Betreuer dieser Arbeit beglückwünschen. Die Verfasserin hat nicht nur die sehr umfangreiche und widerspruchsvolle Literatur über Conrad Ferdinand Meyer klug verwertet, sondern sie ist auch tief in das Werk selber eingedrungen und kann es voll ausschöpfen. In vieler Hinsicht ist

das behandelte Problem das eigentliche Kernproblem der Meyerschen Dichtung: aus dem ewigen Kampf zwischen Sein und Schein (man vergleiche das Gedicht „Mövenflug“), ergibt sich bei Meyers Scheu vor Selbstenthüllung der Drang zur Maskierung, zur Verhüllung. Die Verfasserin hebt in ihrer Einleitung hervor, wie häufig der Begriff der Maske, unter mancherlei Benennung und Umschreibung, in den Werken Meyers wiederkehrt. Auch den Meyerkenner dürfte die Aufzählung der hierher gehörenden Ausdrücke überraschen. Er wird nicht ohne Belehrung diese ersten lesen.

Behandelt die eigentliche Arbeit das im Titel genannte Problem, so bringt ein kürzerer Nachtrag den persönlichen Erlebnishintergrund aus dem Wesen des Dichters. Hier hätte ich wünschen mögen, daß dieser Nachtrag an erster Stelle gestanden und davon ausgehend dann voller entwickelt worden wäre, wie der Drang zur Maske aus der Persönlichkeit des Dichters heraus sich in den Werken in allerlei Schattierungen auswirkt. Auch will mir scheinen, daß die Verfasserin in der rein begrifflichen Einteilung der verschiedenen Arten der Maskierung etwas zu weit geht, so daß ab und zu die Arbeit zu einem bloßen Aufzählen neigt. Dagegen bilden die weitersgreifenden Darstellungen der „Versuchung des Pescara“, der „Hochzeit des Mönchs“ und des „Heiligen“ die Glanzpartien des Buchs.

Neben einzelnen Druckfehlern stören einige kleine sprachliche Unklarheiten, die aber der Leser leicht verbessern kann. Das Gesamturteil bleibt: die Verfasserin hat die Meyerliteratur um einen wertvollen Beitrag bereichert.

—Friedrich Bruns

University of Wisconsin.

Drei Kameraden,

Erich Maria Remarque. Edited by Waldo C. Peebles. American Book Company, 1941. vii + 139 p. \$1.00.

The novel affords an intimate glimpse into the everyday joys and sorrows of these comrades of the post-war period, with emphasis on the charming love affair of Robby and Pat. The text, preceded by brief introductory remarks, has been shortened to ten chapters of selections representative of Remarque's narrative technique. It should appeal to second or third semester students. There are no useless or unsuitable questions or exercises, for the editor evidently believes

that such matters are best left to the judgment and skill of the teacher. The notes are not buried in the vocabulary, but are presented as footnotes. The following omissions were noted in the vocabulary: "schnuppern" (p. 2, 6), "zwin-kern" (p. 32, 33, 45), "ausgelöscht" (p. 92), "Schnarren" (p. 104). Otherwise this edition well meets professional and technical standards. The English, really American, meanings listed in the vocabulary are accurate translations. Paper, type (Altschrift), and binding are appealing and practical.

—A. Wayne Wonderley

University of Wisconsin.

Nature in the German Novel of the Late Eighteenth Century. 1770-1800,

Clifford Lee Hornaday, Columbia University Press, New York, 1940. 221 pp.

Being a study of a limited period in the history of the German novel, this trenchant investigation of the attitude toward, and portrayal of, nature in this genre from 1770-1800 is well launched by the author with the quite valid statement that "any study of German literature must, of course, give very serious and minute consideration to the last thirty years of the Eighteenth Century."

It is immediately apparent that the work before us is the result of such a serious and minute consideration. Moreover, this treatise can claim the distinction of filling a noticeable gap in the array of studies in German literature. Thoroughly systematic in its particular treatment of an extremely vital period, it furnishes a missing link between the various existing treatises on the rôle of nature in eighteenth-century German literature dealing with the subject either from a more general point of view or on the restricted basis of a single writer's novels. (Regarding the latter type, one wonders whether such valuable studies as, for instance, that of R. Henz, *Die Landschaftsdarstellung bei Jean Paul*, Wien, 1924, might not have been profitably referred to by the author.)

Without making the precarious attempt to decide authoritatively the precise influence on the novelists in question of powerful forces at work, notably Rousseau, Hornaday establishes and maintains throughout a sound and broad perspective on his subject. The general complexity marking the spiritual and emotional life of the era under consideration,

with its vigorous interplay of new literary, artistic, philosophical, religious, and social currents so rarely fused in a complete synthesis, would naturally be reflected also in the expression of the intensified nature feeling of the time. And since it was the novel which, according to the author, "offered the broadest canvas for the portrayal of nature and its effect upon the writer," it is not at all surprising that one should be confronted in the works of these novelists, whose approach to nature evidently was a predominantly emotional one, by an infinitely varied manifestation of an obvious wealth of nature experience.

It is with considerable acumen that the author deals with the problem of determining from the vast detail of this intricate material the tendencies in technique and attitude that may be regarded as characteristic of the entire period. Extensively documented, the skillfully detailed discussion of these general tendencies is arranged in the following categories: *The Approach to Nature*, *The Glories of the Heavens*, *Details of the Landscape*, *Changing Elements in the Natural World*, *Idyllic Idealized Nature*, *Mystic Nature and the Sentimental Attitude*, and *God in Nature*. The seemingly heterogeneous mass of material, appearing in the novel often in a perfectly conventional mode of expression, sometimes in a more or less realistic form, and in a few instances with the earmarks of the ensuing romantic treatment, assumes an organic unity under the above headings. The clear-cut picture arising from this presentation of the multitudinous forms of the novelists' nature appreciation and the expression thereof, projected always against the broader spiritual background of this era, constitutes a convincing basis for the author's undogmatic generalizations. As one might suspect, the key to the latter, that is to say, the basic motif around which the entire substance of this picture of nature and man in the novel of the latter part of the eighteenth century revolves, is the well-known sentimental appeal from civilization to nature.

The fact that the author chooses to give his documentation in English translation brings up the question of a method the justification of which is highly disputable. It is this reviewer's opinion that, from a scientific point of view, the intrinsic value of a treatise suffers a negative effect from the application of this method, no matter how well mastered

and how consistently carried through. In view of this, our final appraisal of this otherwise excellent piece of work can not be of an entirely favorable nature.

—John R. Frey

University of Illinois.

A Book of Danish Ballads,

Axel Olrik. Translated by E. M. Smith-Dampier, Princeton University Press and American-Scandinavian Foundation. New York, 1939. \$3.00.

Denmark is probably the only country in which the aristocracy that created the medieval ballads also did something toward their preservation for posterity. Nowhere else does the ballad corpus have that air of noble tradition which it has in Denmark, where ladies of quality in the sixteenth century inscribed ballads of love and heroism in each other's memory books. Before the end of that century (1591) the first printed ballad collection in the world had appeared, and only during the "Enlightenment" did interest flag. It is no wonder that the greatest of all ballad editors, Svend Grundtvig, arose in this country, and that one of the greatest of ballad scholars, Axel Olrik, became his successor. The Danish tradition, with its six hundred and fifty ballads and its thousands of carefully edited variants, is rivalled only by the balladry of the English and Scottish border, with which it has much in common.

In these ballads the curious contrasts of chivalric life are mirrored as nowhere else. Out of pagan antiquity rise isolated peaks of early belief, — such as the magic of runes, which could compel nature, beast, and woman to man's will — or reminiscences of ancient heroes, such as Sigurd and Brynhild, Didrik of Bern and Ogier le danois, or even the god Thor and his treacherous companion, Loki. But mostly they deal with the medieval castle and its inhabitants: the king sits at court and watches the plotting of evil nobles to overthrow him, or the young knight seeks his lady love in disguise among hostile surroundings. Love and heroism are the perennial themes, embroidered in a multitude of ways. Nature is observed with sensitivity, though only in fleeting glimpses; emotion is ever-present, but not sentimentalized. All of it is suffused with the gay, but tender charm which accompanied the dance and was so new to the rugged North.

All of these ballads have appeared in

English before, principally in the three-volume version by Prior. They have attracted the attention of such writers as George Borrow and Matthew Arnold. But never has any rendering so utterly adequate as the present been offered to English readers. In a volume of the most exquisite typography and make-up we may here find the cream of Danish balladry, selected by the greatest ballad scholar of Denmark and furnished by him with an illuminating and richly poetic introduction, the whole being translated by the best ballad translator in the English language. If anyone finds these superlatives unconvincing, he need only turn to Miss Smith-Dampier's versions and he will quickly be assured that if the Danish ballad poets had been English, this is what they would have sung. Her versions are accurate in that complete sense of the word which means a true rebirth in another language. This feat was of course conditioned by the existence in English of an idiom corresponding exactly in age and spirit to that of the original; Miss Dampier's, however, is the sovereign mastery of that idiom and a sense of poetic values that leaves little to be desired.

—Einar Haugen

University of Wisconsin.

The Death Problem in the Life and Works of Gerhart Hauptmann,

Frederick Alvin Klemm, Philadelphia, 1939, 101 pp.

This study, a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania, deals with an interesting problem that has received much consideration in the last decades. It was written under the direction of Professor Jockers who has sponsored a number of excellent studies about the work of Gerhart Hauptmann. The death problem as a subject for literary studies has had its most significant treatment in Walter Rehm's "Der Todesgedanke in der deutschen Dichtung vom Mittelalter bis zur Romantik" (1928) and in Rudolf Unger's "Herder, Novalis und Kleist" (1922). Since then detailed treatments of individual authors and their attitude toward death have appeared about Jean Paul, Goethe, Rilke, Hofmannsthal, and Mann. Lydia Baer published a doctoral dissertation on "The Concept and Function of Death in the writings of Thomas Mann" in 1931, accepted at the University of Pennsylvania. Here we have a

similar treatment of the life and work of Gerhart Hauptmann.

The dissertation falls into two main parts, the death problem in the poet's life (pp. 9-41) and the death problem in his work (pp. 42-95), plus a brief historical survey of the problem, a page of tabulated conclusions, and a bibliography. The introductory survey is inadequate in the light of Rehm's thorough-going study which alone could give the broad background of the required setting. However, the writer gives a brief if somewhat superficial survey before launching upon a detailed discussion of Hauptmann's relation to the fundamental problems of life and death. In dealing with the biographical facts as revealed in the poet's own utterances about himself and in the many critical estimates today, Klemm begins with the Silesian heritage of the poet, follows the different periods of growth and development, and finally evaluates the "harmony and enjoyment" of his mature years (p. 37 and p. 41). The many quotations chosen from all available sources shed much light upon Hauptmann's reactions at various times of his life, but basically they can only touch the problem. I personally doubt that a final interpretation of the poet's attitude can be fully identified with that of his characters. Those who have been close to Hauptmann and have talked repeatedly with him do not always detect Olympian serenity. Like most old people Hauptmann reflects a certain resignation which contains, however, as much pessimism as optimism. An interesting commentary on this aspect of the problem is contained in a brief note to the article, "Die Insel der Seligen" by Felix A. Voigt (GRM XXII, 1934, p. 12) in which Hauptmann himself changed the adjective "beruhigte" to "beruhigtere" in reference to his own awareness of a "Harmonie des Alters."

In the third chapter which deals with the death problem in Hauptmann's works, much information is compiled about the number, types, causes, and meanings of deaths occurring in the various writings. This in itself is very useful for reference work, but the deeper significance of the many deaths is not interpreted fully. Perhaps such material really defies full interpretation. External factors and general environmental factors do play a great part in the lives of Hauptmann's characters and yet there is something beyond that. The final conclusions which sum-

marize the investigation and reduce it to eight brief statements stress the spiritual value of death, the duality of Christian attitudes and the pantheistic-pagan of Nirvana, the inadequacy of life, and the use of symbols.

The treatment of this very difficult problem is stimulating but not quite satisfying.

—Walter A. Reichart

University of Michigan.

Georgekreis und Literaturwissenschaft,
Hans Rössner. Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1938. 227 pp.

The past thirty years of German literary criticism have opened extraordinarily tempting, if, at times, bewildering avenues of speculation. But with the passing of Erich Schmidt's lucid and concrete principles of investigation, the terminology of the "younger" critics — Walzel, Gundolf, Strich and, more recently, of Pongs and the militant school of existential critics — has become increasingly complex and, certainly to the foreign observer, uncomfortably esoteric. It was not often that the magic of subtle obfuscation ultimately led to definite gains in principle and insight. The revaluation of the Romantic period and its summary in Petersen's book seemed to some a significant but final achievement of a certain type of exact criticism. There was, at least, no further objective focus of investigation within sight and in only one group of critics could a vision of a common task be discerned: in the sensitive though not traditionally academic disciples of Stefan George. George's own poetic work represented then, as it does now, an independent achievement which naturally had its essential bearing upon the critical pursuit of his Kreis. Between 1911 (Hellin-grath's "Pindar") and 1933 (Kommerell's "Jean Paul") this group constituted the most remarkable unit of literary interpretation. The ultimate historical significance of this circle can not yet be established, but some of its problematical aspects become increasingly apparent upon the foil of some more recent discussions of the younger German critics, among which H. Rössner's "Georgekreis und Literaturwissenschaft" deserves attention. It is an interesting book, admittedly tentative and with an uncommon regard for even those characteristic qualities of the "opponent" which might prove to be contrary to the views of Rössner's own politically-minded generation.

Rössner's argument is, briefly, this: Modern criticism is characterized by a constantly changing attitude towards the historical process. The romantic and, generally speaking, humanistic principles of what is known as "Historismus," supply the literary scholar, well into the latter half of the nineteenth century, with speculative categories. But "liberal-progressive" tendencies seem, towards the end of the century, to invalidate this originally genuine historical attitude. The Georgekreis stands, indeed, within this historical tradition but, paradoxically enough, it establishes an image of the poet which takes him out of the proper historical context and places him, as a "heroic" figure, into a cosmological system. In effect, then, the Georgekreis has an anti-historical Geschichtsbild and Rössner makes the most of this curious discrepancy (cf. Gundolf: "Es ist der Sinn der Geschichte, Helden hervorzubringen . . ." "Es gibt nur verschiedene Wirkungsgrade der Ewigkeit, keine Vergangenheit . . .") Inevitably, George's disciples are bound to attack the accepted methods and conclusions of an historical relativism, but at the same time cannot entirely avoid the danger of a far-reaching blindness towards *all* morphological concepts and historical relations. Indeed, Gundolf replaces such "relations" by the Georgean "Gestalt", which is "unbedingt und beziehungslos gegenwärtig". The fashionable tendency toward a psychological analysis of the process of poetic creation appears to the Georgekreis as the belated corollary of Dilthey's eloquence on behalf of an individualistic interpretation. It is this indifference towards the analysis of the creative elements which separates Dilthey's "humanism" from that of the George disciples. To Dilthey, Rössner reminds us, poetry represents an "Organ des Lebensverständnisses", to Gundolf an "Organ der Lebensgestaltung". At this point Rössner raises his most definite objections. To ascribe to the poet, as George and his circle do, a normative function, presupposes a positive conception of moral values. But the values of the Kreis are, strictly speaking "Bildungswerte" which, though often enough concerned with the realm of the irrational, never comprise or even contemplate the "elemental". And it is a summary verdict of the validity of the whole movement, when Rössner characterizes the Georgekreis as resting "in der Überlieferung einer humanistischen Bildungsidee und

Kulturanschauung, die, individualistisch ausgerichtet, im Zusammenhang mit der gefährlichen Entwicklung der deutschen Volksgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert steht: der Auseinanderentwicklung von Kultur und Staat, Volks- und Bildungsgeschichte, Staats- und Kulturbewußtsein" (p. 8 f.). "Wer will Gundolf und überhaupt dem Georgekreis bestreiten, daß sie der Dichtung, dem Sprachkunstwerk seine Lebensfunktion zurückzugeben versuchten? Aber an der Problematik dieses Lebensbegriffes, an seiner ästhetischen Fragwürdigkeit hängt auch die Problematik der literaturwissenschaftlichen Leistung." (p. 143).

Rössner surveys the work of most of the representatives of the group and adduces ample and illuminating material on their behalf. Curiously enough, he omits to mention Gundolf's "Stifter", which is surely, in its stubborn obtuseness, an extraordinary document of one-sided criticism. Rössner's study goes, however, beyond the immediate discussion of the Georgekreis itself. With the utmost determination and a vocabulary which is shockingly familiar and rarely as intelligible as it ought to be,* he formulates a number of principles which he hopes will give direction and, presumably, self-confidence to the younger German critics. These suggestions must be read, of course, within a larger spiritual context and we must here be content with only two remarkable quotations: (p. 218) "Hüten wir uns vor blossen Begriffswirklichkeiten wie die Rasse, das Volk u.ä. Das sind und bleiben Abstraktionen . . . , wie es früher die Menschheit, der Fortschritt, die Humanität nicht minder und fürwahr mit größerem Recht waren". And finally (p. 221): "Als Wissenschaft vom deutschen Wesen, wie es sprachkünstlerische Gestalt gewonnen hat, muß die Literaturwissenschaft zum Beispiel fragen, wieweit künftig überhaupt noch eine losgelöste Geistesgeschichte, Problem- und Stilgeschichte sinnvoll erscheint, wieweit andererseits eine Einteilung der Literaturgeschichte nach den Epochen der politischen und Volksgeschichte notwendig und möglich und eine solche nach literarischen Stilbegriffen nicht mehr ausrei-

* cf. p. 154: "... die naturhaften Kräfte, der gebärerische Ur- und Ungrund, das Tellurische und Aorgische, die mütterlichen Substanzen, die überindividuellen bluthaften noch ungeformten Kräfte von Volkstum und Rasse. Das ist, im tieferen Sinne [...], das 'Barbarische'."

chend ist. Vor allem aber fällt mit der geistesgeschichtlichen Epochen-einteilung eine allzu oberflächliche europäische Orientierung".

—Victor Lange

Cornell University.

The Genius of the German Lyric.

A. Closs. *An Historic Survey of its Formal and Metaphysical Values.* London 1938. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Agent for the U.S.A.: William Salloch, 344 East 17th Street, New York City, 478 pp. Cloth \$5.50.

The alluring title of this first comprehensive Study of the whole field of German Lyric poetry from the Middle High German Period to the present will attract many readers to this volume. I regret that the title arouses hopes that are not quite fulfilled, especially not for the later period from Goethe on.

The chapters on the Minnesingers, the Folksong, the lyric of the Baroque are the best parts of the book. Even here one thing is apparent; the factual background (social, political, historical) and poetic theory receive more attention than the poetry itself. When we come to the modern period we see that Klopstock is accorded eleven pages (same as Opitz) Hölderlin a little over eight, Eichendorff three and Mörike four. No mention is made of Hölderlin's great hymns. Eichendorff's *Mondnacht* receives as sole comment: "a world clouded in dreams". About Novalis' *Geistliche Lieder* we hear that they are associated with certain church festivals and that they praise the Virgin "as the symbol of the infinite in the finite". Instead of a discussion of formal and metaphysical values the author gives us a great deal of extraneous and irrelevant material. Thus we have a whole chapter on "Austria, Biedermeier, Grillparzer". Why? In the discussion of Heine no mention is made of the *Romanzero* and *Letzte Geschichte*. I quite agree with Professor Closs when he puts Mörike and Eichendorff above Heine, but for that very reason he should not have disregarded Heine at his best. While

with the exception of Rilke and George hardly one lyric poet after Klopstock is adequately presented, Arno Holz is accorded thirteen pages. Richard Dehmel drops down to two. In the case of Christian Morgenstern the emphasis is placed on the *Galgenlieder*, while the serious lyrics are barely mentioned. What has happened to "the formal and metaphysical values"? Ever and again we get a list of names or an array of bare facts. I note a few factual errors. "The heartfelt prayer 'Nun ruhen alle Wälder'" does not end Gerhard's song, but begins it. The original version of *Willkommen und Abschied* "Du gingst, ich stund und sah zur Erden" does not betray Goethe's guilty conscience, but his grief at parting. A guilty conscience would hardly permit him to say:

"Und doch, welch Glück geliebt zu werden,

Und lieben, Götter, welch ein Glück!"

The "five main ideas in Hölderlin's lyric poetry" (page 272) are quoted from Hölderlin and not set up independently by Heidegger, as Mr. Closs seems to assume. Novalis' *Hymnen an die Nacht* were published in their entirety in the *Athenäum*, not only "their most important parts in prose form". Lenau purchased land in Ohio, not in Pennsylvania. Mörike's muse did not (as far as we know) console the poet in his separation from his wife. His muse was silent even before 1873. The "pure lyric" can hardly be said to be alien to Hebbel, unless one sets up a definition that would exclude the most of Hölderlin and Nietzsche and George and much of Rilke. Did Nietzsche's contemporaries really revere his works and his life? Of the final part of Zarathustra Nietzsche was able to give away seven copies and received for most of these evasive answers. And Nietzsche was not professor of "classic philosophy."

The book ends with a selective bibliography, which the reader will find most useful, even though he will have to be on his guard for serious omissions.

—Friedrich Bruns

University of Wisconsin.